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American leaders reassure Walter Scheel



Foreign Minister Walter Scheel with President Nixon and Dr Henry Kissinger at the White House on 12 July (Photo: dpa)

Walter Scheel's snap visit to the United States, at one stage officially designated as a lightning trip, would seem at first glance to be an emergency move to salvage relations between the United States and Western Europe.

This impression, to which the information tactics of the Bonn Foreign Office contributed in no small measure, is inaccurate. Which is not, of course, to say that the Foreign Minister's talks in Washington can be designated a routine exercise.

Walter Scheel's visit to the United States forms part and parcel of the diplomatic comings and goings that have kept politicians all over the world on their toes in recent months. President Nixon's projected European tour this November will form a further climax of the trend.

The comings and goings of high-ranking politicians reflect changes in world affairs that seem inexorably to be affecting this country, Europe, East and South-East Asia as well as the Big Two.

The trend towards man-to-man talks also indicates that relaxation of tension is by no means an automatic process. Launched in East and West by dint of considerable effort, it calls for continual adjustments and conceivably temporary speed limits.

It is in this context that the realignment of relations between the United States and Western Europe assumes its importance and, of course, the element of potential dynamite.

The invitation extended to Herr Scheel by President Nixon, Secretary of State Rogers and US national security adviser Kissinger was initially intended as a means of reassurance.

The US leaders explained to Foreign Minister Scheel and his political planning and disarmament advisers Guido Brunner and Helmuth Roth that the nuclear agreement between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev in no way affects the security of America's allies in Western Europe.

Washington is taking pains to ensure that this impression is fostered. On 16 July Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber also set off for the US capital at the invitation of Defence Secretary Schlesinger.

Beforehand President Nixon tried to reassure Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns, Western European ambassadors to Nato and French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert (though with scant success in France's case).

America's explanations were well received by Walter Scheel. What they amount to is that the nuclear agreement between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev applies to a state of peace only and would lapse the moment an attack was launched on Western Europe.

It does not represent an element in crisis-containment and is more intended to prevent crises arising. The United States did not seem inclined to reduce the number of tactical nuclear devices in Europe either, but Walter Scheel's positive response would not seem to be echoed by all Cabinet Ministers in Bonn.

Western European security remains the cornerstone of detente policy. Were there no security detente would become a game of chance.

There is no reason for not believing President Nixon, Rogers and Kissinger when they assure the Foreign Minister that US troops will remain stationed in Western Europe, but any Western European politician who dismissed the very possibility would be irresponsible.

Ever since Dr Kissinger's advocacy of a new Atlantic Charter and the encounter between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev it has been apparent that the United States is in the process of reappraising its commitments and its role within the Atlantic alliance.

Western Europe cannot afford to do no more than think about the form and content of the North Atlantic pact. Action must be taken.

American policy towards Western Europe represents an invitation to play ball. Western Europe, when all is said and done, rightly insisted on equality with the United States from now on, though economic and monetary affairs were doubtless what Europeans had in mind, since they stand to derive most benefit from equal treatment in these sectors.

Now that the Americans are directly or indirectly indicating that it is time Europe paid its share of defence expenditure everyone on this side of the Atlantic has suddenly piped down. In public at least they are avoiding the topic of European defence with a vengeance.

Christian Democrat Walther Leisler Kiep, a thoughtful pro-American, was outspoken by way of contrast during the Foreign Minister's visit to Washington. In view of the changing political situation he called for a reformulation of Nato strategy.

"It must include a secondary nuclear deterrent in Europe in the form of a European potential," he stated. This country, he felt, ought to be involved in target planning at least. This is an idea that has been on many people's minds of late, though no one is prepared to admit the fact.

The Bonn government, particularly Foreign Minister Scheel, who dismisses the idea of a European deterrent as a plaything, is doing everything in its power to postpone discussion of a European nuclear pool, plans for which have been resurrected by Britain recently, until such time as political union is a European reality.

Bonn is caught on the horns of a dilemma. Either it takes on nuclear weapons and runs the risk of being degraded to the status of an errand-boy for the British and the French or it does not.

Even if it were to do so within the framework of a European political union the situation would be a tricky one. Does the non-proliferation then still apply to Bonn? Is it still bound to its renunciation of nuclear weapons? Fortunately a decision will not need to be taken for some time. For the time being there are other possibilities of preventing the emergence of a security vacuum in Western Europe even assuming that US troop strength is cut back. Nato's Eurogroup could, for instance, be reinforced.

A declaration of principles by the Atlantic alliance on relations between Western Europe and the United States will, however, prove inevitable.

Not only the French but also a fair number of Ministers in the present Bonn government would sooner avoid the issue of what Walter Scheel has termed a New Testament of the North Atlantic pact. Whatever shape it takes, it could certainly spring a number of surprises.

Hans Kepper

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 July 1973)

IN THIS ISSUE

Rifts in the Alliance

The list of topics discussed by Walter Scheel in Washington with President Nixon and national security adviser Kissinger demonstrates the rate at which transatlantic tension, rivalry and misunderstanding has snowballed.

During the eight years in which the United States has been up to its eyes in Vietnam and Asia transatlantic relations have changed to such an extent that rifts have occurred left, right and centre and can no longer merely be papered over.

Whether it be German-American ties or relations between Western Europe and America on matters of military presence, trade, international cooperation or exchange rates, the bill is invariably in dollars and cents.

This is why it will take a monetary agreement satisfactory to all sides in the West before transatlantic relations can really return to normal.

Walter Scheel's Washington talks were thus accompanied by monetary negotiations, though little progress was made. In a nutshell what the Europeans want is for the Americans to recall at least part of the world's rogue dollars.

The Americans in their turn note the services they have done their allies and would like the allies to join in burden-sharing.

In the US House of Representatives, which favours a drastic reduction in the number of US troops stationed in Europe, the cost of keeping 300,000 GIs between the Mediterranean and Iceland is reckoned to be in excess of 18,000 million dollars per annum.

President Nixon intends to veto any cutback by more than five per cent, or approximately 15,000 men. Assistant Secretary of State Rush estimates that stationing the troops in the United States rather than in Europe would involve a saving of 400 million dollars at the most.

Whether the 300,000 men are needed is another matter altogether — and one that has been studiously avoided.

Marlene Manthey

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 July 1973)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

France's force de frappe no substitute for US nuclear shield

DIE ZEIT

It is probably no more than a rumour that France's President Pompidou murmured "merci, M. Mao" on hearing the news of the Chinese nuclear test. China could certainly not have done him a better service at the present juncture than to explode their hydrogen device over Sinkiang.

The French may demonstratively have ignored the judgment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague and ostentatively have disregarded the misgivings of other governments, but international protest against their projected nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll had not been without effect.

The Chinese test now provides a welcome opportunity of retrenching behind assertions that the nuclear mini-powers have much in common in their atomic altruism.

Both Paris and Peking refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty on the ground that they had no intention of leaving themselves at the tender mercies of the superpowers' nuclear monopoly. Both feel their views have been borne out by the US-Soviet nuclear agreement.

The United States and the Soviet Union, they feel, are determined to conduct international affairs regardless of small and medium-sized nations.

China claims to aim at the abolition of nuclear weapons by means of ending their nuclear monopoly. France still harbours illusions of national independence and feels it can be maintained by means of the force de frappe.

Both reckon that their respective aims entitle them to conduct nuclear tests jeopardising the lives of many other people otherwise unaffected.

The French nuclear devices are allegedly "clean" yet they are not being exploded over French territory, and China little cares that the level of radioactivity has increased 3,000-fold since its test over Japan rather than over Peking.

Both countries are behaving in an unscrupulous manner in gaining access to the exclusive nuclear club at the expense of others.

There can, of course, be no gainsaying that China is a great power in the offing and that it cannot rely on the backing of a nuclear ally. But what about Francd?

General de Gaulle's argument that the mere possession of nuclear weapons is a sufficient deterrent (the argument on which the transformation of the force de frappe into a force de persuasion is based) has long ceased to hold good.

Nowadays technological progress and quantity are the sole criteria, and France alone is unlikely ever to be able to lay claim to either.

France's nuclear potential has been developed at enormous cost. It has already consumed some 80,000 million Marks at the expense of social progress and, for that matter, of conventional armament.

Yet the French are still trailing hopelessly behind the United States and the Soviet Union. By 1980 they will at best have reached the stage Britain has already achieved with American assistance.

Even if they succeed, in the wake of their projected tests, in miniaturising their nuclear capacity, they will by 1975 pack thirty megatons of nuclear punch, as opposed to the United States' 30,000 and the Soviet Union's 25,000 megatons.

What is more, the range of their missiles and strategic bombers is too small to represent a serious threat to a possible enemy. France's force de frappe cannot claim to be a very convincing deterrent and assurances that the tests are indispensable for the secuity and independence of France or even Europe have a hollow ring. Uncertainty regarding American intentions in Europe has, it is true, increased following the talks between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev. Washington continues to press for alternatives to US nuclear guarantees for Europe, too.

A European nuclear potential based on French capacity, British technological progress, US know-how and financial backing from other European countries would seem a tempting proposition.

Why, one may ask, have Bonn and Whitehall refrained from joining in the chorus of opposition to the nuclear tests? Could it be that they would like to keep the door open?

A European nuclear force could only function as part of an integrated European defence – unless, that is, two categories of Europeans are established: those with their finger on the trigger and those who are left as sitting ducks.

Defence integration in its turn will only be feasible once the political and economic union of Europe has been largely accomplished (if then!).

For the moment, even in an age of detente and no worries, there is no alternative to the US nuclear shield, certainly not France's force de frappe, which is not even capable of convincingly defending French territory.

Gabriele Venzky
(Die Zeit, 6 July 1973)

Kosygin confers with Kreisky in Vienna

In 1960 he kept in the background. He made a quiet and serious impression; unlike his leader, Nikita Khrushchev, he spoke reasonable German and showed particular interest in economic problems.

Thirteen years later Kosygin revisited Vienna not as a man on the sidelines, as a key figure from the Kremlin, not a mere government delegate but as Soviet Premier.

The second most powerful man in the Soviet Union, like his counterpart in Washington and the world's other superpower, is now engaged in a tour of small, neutral countries along the Danube.

Nearly twenty years after the signing of the Austrian State Treaty few political problems remain outstanding between Austria and the Soviet Union.

Premier Kosygin and Chancellor Kreisky accordingly chose to review major international issues. The Russians were dealing not merely with the leader of an insignificant country but with an internationally renowned statesman, a leading representative of Social Democracy. Mr Kosygin's public statements testified to willingness to relax tension and friendliness towards Austria. In an after-dinner speech he defined Austrian neutrality, limiting himself to the articles of the Austrian Neutrality Act.

This after-dinner toast assumed the proportions of a major event for Austria in that the Soviet Premier had no further comment to make on neutrality. In the past Soviet spokesmen regularly intimated that their country was entitled to interpret Austrian neutrality as it saw fit.

Mr Kosygin abandoned this claim, an outcome that can be regarded as a great success for Austria's policy of neutrality.

The success of Austria's policy of neutrality and optimism in respect of the European security conference were also emphasised in the final communiqué.

The talks dealt in the main, however, with economic issues. Austria and the Soviet Union concluded a ten-year agreement on economic, scientific and industrial cooperation and cultural and transport agreements were also signed.

The framework of bilaterality was exceeded in another context. Chancellor Kreisky noted that economic cooperation in Europe cannot overlook the two economic groupings Comecon and the Common Market.

Premier Kosygin replied that consideration was also being given to this problem by his country and that opportunities of making contact ought to be investigated.

Vienna was particularly quick to note that Alexei Kosygin lost not a word on Austria's arrangement with the European Community, an agreement that has in the past come in for vociferous criticism from the Soviet Union.

Edgar Schwer
(Vorwärts, 12 July 1973)

Peking's *People's Daily* reports on Bonn

An article recently published in the Peking *People's Daily* deals in detail with the special position of the Federal Republic of Germany in Europe and between East and West. It was written by the delegation of Chinese journalists that visited this country last May.

In a first article published several weeks ago and entitled "West of the Elbe" the visitors outlined impressions gained on their travels around the north of the country.

The second article continues in the same objective and detailed vein with a review of the Ruhr, Württemberg and Bavaria.

After dealing with the level of industrial development, export capacity and endeavours to contain inflationary tendencies the Chinese journalists go on to consider this country's foreign policy position.

"West Germany feels that its safety and part of Central Europe," the article explains. "On its Eastern frontier the one superpower has masses of troops stationed. This is a factor that the Federal Republic has to bear in mind.

West Germany feels that its safety and the balance of military power are dependent on the other superpower and the presence of US, British and French troops in the Federal Republic."

Vary though their estimates of policy towards the Soviet Union might, major government and Opposition spokesmen concur in their hope that US troops will remain stationed in the Federal Republic.

This makes military sense. In political terms 28 years have gone by since the end of the war without a peace treaty being concluded with Germany. On issues relating to Germany as a whole and West Berlin the Four Powers reserve their rights and obligations.

This is why the European Community and Western European solidarity are important in both economic and political terms for the Federal Republic."

Both this country and others in Western Europe realise full well, the Chinese journalists write, that without this solidarity West Germany would have difficulty in gaining its full right to a say in the conduct of world affairs today.

They go on to assess the prospects of genuine detente in Europe. "Europeans, including the Germans," the *People's Daily* article notes, "have lived through the catastrophes of two world wars and are thus most interested in relaxation of tension in Europe and the prevention of a new world war.

"But the social imperialists proclaim peace, security and detente in Europe on the one hand while on the other making not the slightest attempt to scale down their endeavours to boost their military might." This being so, the views of people in the Federal Republic vary.

Some people, the Chinese delegation reports, feel that negotiations of any kind and any kind of European security conference are better than none. Others reckon that no harm can be done by trying to sound out the real intentions of Soviet leaders in the course of negotiations.

Still others are "confused by the noisy speeches of Soviet leaders and feel that maybe a change has come about in Soviet policy towards Europe.

"Others again remain comparatively watchful. They listen to what the Soviet Union has to say but also keep a close watch on what it does. They have no confidence in salesmen of shoddy material, particularly when the salesmen are armed to the teeth yet at the same time talk stridently in terms of peace."

The Chinese journalists report in detail on an interview with a Munich professor who favoured genuine detente but not a relaxation of tension resulting in one side growing stronger while the other grew weaker.

They quote his view that Soviet policy is aimed at a reduction in US military presence, the prevention of military and political integration in Europe and keeping the European Community as small and divided as possible.

The article ends by quoting a well-known but likewise unspecified West German politician:

"At the moment there is a real danger of closing one's eyes to the facts and succumbing to illusions because one loves peace. The danger is that detente, security and peace are terms exerting such a powerful psychological influence.

"That is why those who pursue imperialist policies talk a great deal about detente. Those who would like to reduce the other side's troop strength talk a great deal about security. Those who pursue their own aims with warlike means talk a great deal about peace."

Gerd Ruge
(Die Welt, 7 July 1973)

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■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Ideological differences cause splits in the SPD

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Hard times are in store for the Social Democrats. The division in the Munich branch of the party may not be typical for the Federal Republic as a whole, but it is no isolated case.

Struggles for power in the Frankfurt branch have been even more brutal at times and it often takes hard-fought compromises to patch up the differences in the Hamburg party between the rank and file on the one hand and the Senate and SPD members of the House of Burgesses on the other.

Varying degrees of conflict are to be found in other cities too and even smaller branches are occasionally split. Now that the party has reached the climax of its electoral success it is more concerned with its own image than it has been before. The only thing uniting the two wings of the party are the three initials SPD. The discord reaches down to the very roots of party philosophy.

As far as its basic features are concerned, the pattern of conflict is much the same throughout the country. There is a difference of opinion between the pragmatists who as members of the Bundestag or local parliaments aim at gradual social change and those members, mainly delegates to party congresses, who wish to govern by means of anti-capitalist resolutions.

This second group naturally enough believes that it is the only democratic force within the party. There is no other explanation of why members of this group describe criticism of their resolutions and opposition to their decisions as "pre-democratic" and consequently undemocratic.

They do not realise that they are employing absolutist yardsticks or at least run the danger of adopting this course or, if they do realise it, they deny it. But when their opponents are in the majority they are quick to point to the passage in the statutes guaranteeing all sides a hearing.

The dispute has long been conducted along ideological lines. Local and regional party leaders are often as confuesd and helpless as the party leadership in Bonn if, that is, they are not actively involved as in Munich.

It is no coincidence that the (left-wing) SPD leadership in Munich opposes the right-wing majority on the city council and their mayors in city hall. Hans-Jochen Vogel neglected the party too long when he was *Oberbürgermeister* of Munich.

Vogel was neither interested or disturbed by the rank and file's feelings on rearmament or the codification of regulations for use in a state of emergency. When the activists turned their attention to local politics and part of the extra-parliamentary opposition began their long march through the institutions Vogel managed to oust the left wing from their newly-found positions on local party executives but his success did not last long and it was not the signal for the party as a whole as he had hoped.

The number of left-wing SPD delegates rose in Munich as elsewhere. As they obtained a majority they wished to enter city hall and govern the municipalities according to their own ideas.

Though Vogel was in a strong position he decided not to stand again for the position of *Oberbürgermeister*. The new mayor, Georg Kronawitter, was unable to offer sterner resistance and must have felt insecure during his first few months of office.

The fact that Kronawitter has now gone over to the offensive may be due to his greater self-confidence and his realisation that the left-wing will not risk a formal split and their consequent impotence over the next five years.

His action must also have been governed by the wish to obtain a minimum of external solidarity before the elections to the Bavarian Provincial Assembly in 1974. But that does not alter the basic pattern of conflict.

The dispute could have catastrophic results for Vogel at the elections to the provincial assembly if the SPD register gains all over Bavaria and lose votes in Munich, as happened at last year's elections to the Bundestag.

His chances of robbing the CSU of its absolute majority and teaming up with the Free Democrats to rule Bavaria are low already. They would be non-existent if he lost votes in Munich.

That is why party leaders in Munich suspect that their former antagonist is trying to provide himself with an alibi. But they do not realise that they are providing him with almost every opportunity to do this.

Instead of themselves leading, they are allowing themselves to be led by the majority of delegates, even though this majority consists of a number of heterogeneous groups. Chairman Rudolf Schöfberger is one of the worst in this respect.

When people like Schöfberger object to the popular election of an *Oberbürgermeister* as they fear his omnipotence as a result, they can only be considered to have strange ideas about democracy. A majority at a party congress cannot be regarded as more democratic than a majority of the electorate.

There are two dangers here. First of all, sections of the SPD are evidently making the same mistake as they once accused the CDU and CSU of committing – identifying themselves with the State or municipality.

Secondly, representative democracy is being devalued. This does not mean to say that an "imperative mandate" is being considered. It is sufficient to describe voters as stupid. But voters will be able to have their revenge on those politicians who, in their own words, are providing information by means of agitation.

Hans Reiser
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 July 1973)

Karl Carstens – a man of the future

The Bundeshaus is empty. You could wallow in this fact if it were not for the occasional steward or member of the committee of inquiry suddenly coming around the corner and giving a curt greeting. They are not happy about their holidays being ruined. "Nothing will come of the inquiry," they grumble.

But one man enters the party wing of the Bundeshaus at 8.15 almost every morning when journalists are still in bed. He is a junior member of the house even though he will be sixty next year.

He likes the irony of his situation. He only entered the Bundestag in November 1972 and is already undisputed head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and leader of the Opposition. Observers are forecasting a great future for him.

Professor Karl Carstens, who speaks quite normally and rarely indulges in the high-falutin language commonly associated with professors, says to his old friends: "Journalists learn much about what happens behind the scenes but imagine how much the leader of a parliamentary knows!"

Shortly after eight o'clock Professor Carstens has already started work in room twenty of the party wing. This is the spacious room once used by Rainer Barzel. Its former occupier is now sunning himself in Nice.

Carstens recently appointed a new head of organisation – Herr Neusel who was Chancellor Kiesinger's right-hand man until his defeat in 1969. Since then he adopted a waiting position and attracted most attention cycling through the woods surrounding Bonn.

Wherever former Chancellor Kiesinger appeared after his defeat in 1969, Neusel was never very far away smiling his waiting smile. His activities were never any more strenuous during this period. Neusel will now have too roll up his sleeves again as Cartens' right-hand man.

It is doubtful whether many of the parliamentary business managers of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group will survive the reshuffle planned for the autumn. Leo Wagner of the CSU is almost certain to remain but a big question mark hangs over the names Mikat, Rawe, Seiters and von Wrangel. However much they twist the truth, they will not all be able to deny having close links with Rainer Barzel.

Carstens is at the moment considering what his next moves should be. Though he is still giving his law lectures at Cologne University he still meets experts in various branches of policy almost every day. This is a necessity as foreign policy is the only sector in which he is completely at home.

During the summer recess Carstens plans to spend a few days on the island of Fehmarn in the Baltic. His family originally came from this area and he still has a cousin there by the name of Hartwig Mackeprang.

Mackeprang once won the Fehmarn regatta on Carstens' yacht *Fairplay*. But Carstens will have little time for sailing this year. He will soon have to man the ropes in Bonn.

Carstens describes himself as an old liberal of Hanseatic origin. "He is always the first person to take his jacket off at meetings of the parliamentary party," a spokesman comments.

Carstens will move into a house of his own this autumn – at Meckenheim, a small town on the doorstep of Bonn. His wife has a medical practice in the town and she is also a member of the Protestant community there.

Walter Henkels
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 July 1973)

No foundation for claims of a power struggle in the FDP

With friends like Heiner Bremer you don't need enemies, the Free Democrats must have thought the other day. Bremer, former head of the Young Democrats, inflated a dispute at executive level to a large-scale political conflict between party leader Walter Scheel and his general secretary, Karl Flach.

As a number of Free Democrat politicians were at the same time warning their coalition partners in the SPD against neo-Marxist tendencies and on the other hand cautiously paying court to the CDU/CSU some of the keenest observers in Bonn thought they detected a struggle for power. Some concluded that Flach wished to resign while others claimed he wanted to become party leader.

In reality the Free Democrats only want to provide some encouragement for the CDU/CSU and also change their business manager. The manner in which this change in personnel is being conducted refutes all rumours about a split between Scheel and Flach.

Herr Hoffmann, the Foreign Office official who is replacing Herr Stancke, a Berlin lawyer, as FDP business manager, may be regarded as an absolutely faithful follower of Foreign Minister Scheel but the switch is taking place not at Scheel's request but as the result of a proposal by Flach himself.

Hoffmann's appointment is obviously intended to refute the impression gained by many local branches of the FDP that the real head of the party is Scheel's personal adviser, Herr Woelker.

The alleged differences between the Foreign Minister and the FDP's genetal secretary may indeed be reduced to the conflict about Woelker's influence on Scheel. Woelker does not deny being a sort of eminence grise. "But should I sit around doing nothing when the Minister is not there and merely wait for instructions over the phone?" he asks.

Woelker attributes the criticism of his methods to what he calls the FDP's feudal structure. This, he claims, is the main reason why many methods employed within the party still date from the nineteenth century.

Woolker and Stancke are confusing party work with industrial management, other politicians in the FDP fear. At any rate they try to get their ideas adopted by using methods that are not always all that decorous.

"My relations with Walter Scheel are still good," Flach is quick to point out. He was surprised to read reports that he had had to wait three months for an interview with the party leader. Woelcker too scotches this suggestion. "In the period in question Flach spoke with Scheel more than 25 times," he states.

But leading FDP politicians in Bonn claim that a mood of resignation now surrounds Flach. But this is due less to conflicts within the party than to family problems – Flach's wife is seriously ill.

Flach can be believed when he says he wishes to remain in office at least until next year's party congress. "By then I must have decided whether the post of general secretary is compatible with that of deputy leader of the parliamentary party," he states.

Many Free Democrats were surprised when Flach decided to stand for deputy leader of the parliamentary party after the 1972 Bundestag elections. Since then they have found that he prefers to work in the Bundestag than in the party apparatus.

But it was to reorganise the party apparatus that Flach gave up his editorial post with the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in 1971. Both Scheel and his deputy Hans-Dietrich Genscher had neglected the party apparatus because of their ministerial duties.

But it is being said at FDP headquarters in Bonn that Flach has displayed little interest in the party apparatus since last year's elections to the Bundestag. It is now hoped that he will work together with Hoffmann, who is a close friend of his.

The Free Democrats are insisting on

Continued on page 5

■ STEINER AFFAIR

Committee of inquiry clarifies little

Did *Julius Steiner*, the former Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag, receive fifty thousand Marks in exchange for his support of Chancellor Willy Brandt at last year's vote of no-confidence? Was he paid by Karl Wienand, the business manager of the Social Democratic parliamentary parts in the Bundestag? Was the alleged bribe linked with Steiner's activities in the secret service? So far there have been no satisfactory answers to these questions. No shred of evidence has been forthcoming. It is gradually becoming clearer that only the key figure in the case can supply the answers. The question of Steiner's credibility is being raised mor and more. The picture of Steiner's personality emerging from witnesses' statements before the parliamentary committee of inquiry does not hold out much prospect of gaining reliable information at the *Interrogation* which is now due to begin in the nursing home where he is staying.

As far as I know, I am convinced that the only person with any accurate information is Herr Steiner," Peter Lahnstein, head of the Baden-Württemburg branch of the intelligence service, claimed.

His impression was shared by other persons attending the parliamentary committee of inquiry into the bribery affair surrounding Julius Steiner, the former Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag.

Steiner has already been shattered by the scandal and is now recuperating in a nursing home on the Tegernsee far away from Bonn. Beforehand he seems to have




Julius Steiner

(Photo: I.H. Darchinger)

had contacts with people of all shades of political opinion.

The committee of inquiry has been unable to get any nearer the truth because of this labyrinth of claims, suspicions and concealments. Sometimes it appears that the nine committee members do not have enough enthusiasm and interest in the case.

Though it sometimes seems that they are afraid their respective political parties could be harmed by the revelations, it must be remembered that the members of the comittee are grossly overworked.

Members of the Baden-Württemberg intelligence service were first to testify. They stated that Julius Steiner had been recommended by Gebhard Müller, then Premier of the Federal state, as an "intelligent operator" as far back as s 1953.

The current head of the intelligence service does not agree with Müller's verdict and claims that Steiner had not been much above average. But he was a useful member of the intelligence service, he concedes, as he had many contacts.

The scant monthly fee of two hundred Marks at most indicates how meagre Steiner's information must have been for the intelligence service. It therefore gave him no more than "occasional contact" status.

After explaining the meaning of this term to the committee of the inquiry the witness added as an excuse: "Steiner had to be drawn into the apparatus." After all he had been recommended by no lesser figure than a local Premier and nobody could have opposed this arrangement even if he had wanted.

Herr Hauschildt, Steiner's former lawyer and himself a former contact of the Federal Intelligence Service, has had a serious rethink about his client. Only a year ago the two men used to meet at frequent intervals for informal chats. They were on first name times and became close friends.

Today all that is forgotten and Hauschildt told the committee of the inquiry and the members of the public attending the hearings that Steiner was a man whom he would not have allowed to drive his car. He would have been careful to avoid him, had he known Steiner's views on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw at an earlier date.

Eduard Adorno, head of the South Württemberg branch of the CDU and the current Baden-Württemberg Minister for Federal Affairs, also used to have a good opinion of Steiner.

Steiner had had a number of positions within the Baden-Württemberg branch of the party since 1962, he testified, and had been well informed and politically reliable. He only declined in political stature after taking to drink, Adorno claimed.

CDU member Werner Marx also claims to have smelt alcohol on Steiner's breath in the Bundeshaus in Bonn. This had been a chance meeting. But Steiner told his lawyer that he had told Marx of his contacts with the East under the cover of the intelligence service and that Marx had told him to carry on with this work. Marx describes Steiner's claims as products of his imagination.

Karl Moersch, Parliamentary State Secretary in the Foreign Office, described Steiner as a latter-day Münchhausen, a compulsive liar of German folk-lore, when he was suddenly and unexpectedly confronted by the committee of inquiry.

The files of the Federal intelligence service claim that Moersch once recom-



Karl Wienand

(Photo: Sven Simon)

mended a Herr Laube of East Berlin (whom he knew from Algeria) to Steiner, describing him as a "fine chap".

Moersch swore to the committee of inquiry that there was no substance to these allegations. It was however true that he had met Steiner a number of times, once in a café in far-off Biberach.

It is strange that an obscure Christian Democrat backbencher whom nobody claims to have known well received visits from such prominent members of the governing coalition as Karl Wienand and Karl Moersch. Nobody at the committee of inquiry was willing to accept this as a coincidence but these meetings prove nothing.

The Baeuchle couple cannot prove anything either even though it was in their home at Schelklingen, Swabia, that the fateful meeting between Karl Wienand and Steiner took place.

There had been casual mention of the fact that a Christian Democrat vote could be worth money to the coalition, they testify. They remember that amounts of a quarter of a million Marks had been mentioned.

Unfortunately, the Baeuchle couple were not present at that stage of the conversation when a more concrete offer might have been made. The wives had become bored with political discussions and left the room and Mayor Baeuchle had been called to the telephone. He did not return to the room for another fifteen to twenty minutes as he had found the subject of the conversation rather embarrassing, he told the committee of inquiry.

Returning to the embarrassing subject of money, the Baeuchles had to admit to receiving fifteen thousand Marks for supplying information to the *Spiegel* and the *Südwestpresse*.

Nobody emerges from these proceedings with much credit. But there is still no proof of corruption. Perhaps Julius Steiner himself will be able to provide evidence when he is interviewed.

The only evidence so far submitted to

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Wienand attacked for possible role in the case

Karl Wienand, business manager of SPD members in the Bundestag, is gradually being drawn into the scandal surrounding former Bundestag deputy Julius Steiner. While the Opposition drew up a list of the points to be cleared by the Bundestag committee of inquiry investigating Steiner's part in the vote of no-confidence against Chancellor Willy Brandt on 27 April 1972, the illustrated magazine *Quick* printed a declaration by Steiner in its issue of 12 June.

According to his statement, Steiner was offered both money and an official position if he would vote with the government and against his own party. Only the offer of money materialised however and Steiner claims that Karl Wienand handed him fifty thousand Marks at the SPD's parliamentary headquarters.

Herbert Wehner, the head of the parliamentary party, said he was convinced that Wienand had not done anything dishonourable. Wienand himself had said beforehand that no mention had been made of money during his meeting with Steiner.

But Hans-Joachim Baeuchle, the Social Democratic Mayor of Schelklingen in Baden-Württemberg and a former member of the Bundestag, claims that money was mentioned. According to the *Spiegel* he remembers that a sum of 200,000 to 250,000 Marks was mentioned during a meeting between Wienand and Steiner at his Schelklingen home. They were discussing how much a Bundestag member was worth in such a situation.

The *Spiegel* also published a letter Baeuchle wrote to Wienand, requesting the business manager's intervention in his favour at party headquarters in Baden-Württemberg for "the great service he did the party in a truly difficult situation".

The "difficult situation" facing the party was the governing coalition's dwindling majority after a number of Free Democrats had spoken out against Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik and left the party.

Steiner himself stated the previous week that he had received no money from either the government or the parties forming the governing coalition. But *Die Welt* reported on 12 June that Steiner bought a Mercedes 350 on the day after the vote of no-confidence and paid for it with a cheque from a Swiss bank. A few days later he bought a Mercedes 280 and a Mini-Cooper, *Die Welt* claimed.

It is still not known whether the cards used for the vote of no-confidence on 27 April 1972 will be examined. Doubts have been raised about whether they could prove anything. It turns out that they had been stored unsealed until Bundestag President Annemarie Renger was handed them, now sealed, on 12 June.

(Die Zeit, 15 June 1973)

(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

■ LABOUR AFFAIRS

Foreign workers' assimilation continues to present problems

On entering the Federal Republic for the first time, many foreign workers scarcely know where they are going to live. But they are well aware of the agreed monthly income and hourly rates.

Most of the Turks, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Italians, Greeks and other nationalities at first view the Federal Republic from the financial aspect. They see it as a source of money for the taking.

But these foreign workers then settle in and find that life here is good — despite discrimination at work or in the street. The fact that the 2.4 million foreign workers later brought 1.6 million dependants to this country proves that the Federal Republic has become a second home to them.

But there is a shortage of accommodation for single workers or homes for families where they will not be forced to pay excessive rents by unscrupulous landlords. There are not enough language courses, kindergarten places, schools and teachers — and there are far too few advisers to hear the cares of this section of the population and help them in their complicated dealings with the authorities.

Citizens of Common Market countries, mainly Italians in this case, profit from the freedom of labour within the European Economic Community and do not have to queue for hours for a work permit.

The Federal Republic has opened its frontiers to four million foreigners, including dependants, in order to guarantee a prosperous economic future. There is no shortage of vacant jobs.

But our social infrastructure — schools and public transport — has not been able to keep pace with this inflow. We have gone beyond our means. The unlimited recruitment of past years is now a frequent cause of complaint. How are things to be put right?

The search for a solution has also resulted in such unfortunate proposals as compulsory repatriation. Under this ruling foreigners would not be asked when and if they want to return to their homeland but would simply be deported after a certain period of time.

Human beings would therefore be loaned from one country to another for a few years like machines and would be sent back when the time limit elapsed. Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein tested this procedure but, thank goodness, soon thought better of it.

One proposal worth discussing, though it does not promise to be any the more successful, is the suggestion by Josef Stingl, head of the Federal Labour Bureau, that foreign workers should be encouraged on a voluntary basis to stay in this country for only a certain period of time. Behind this idea lies the understandable desire to help those workers who are still waiting abroad for a work and residence permit to enter the Federal Republic. Introducing a quota, it is thought, would cut the length of waiting lists.

But foreign workers employed in this country would hardly deprive themselves of their pay-packets for purely idealistic reasons. And it is not the government's job to make them more eager to return home by offering them a golden handshake.

That should instead be the responsibility of their country of origin which must have some interest in its citizens' finding work abroad, sending money home, gaining specialist knowledge and then returning home so that local industry can benefit.

But little help can be expected from this direction. On returning home, the foreign workers are often unable to find a job commensurate with their increased ability.

The new government programme promises to be more effective. It imposes a double obligation on the persons deriving most direct benefit from the employment of foreign labour — the employers. As the central government, Federal states and local authorities also function as an employer, it is also imposing an obligation on itself.

According to this programme employers must promise to give their foreign workers decent accommodation. They are also being asked to pay the Federal Labour Bureau one thousand instead of seven hundred Marks when they have a foreign worker allocated to them.

Both these measures are designed to make employers consider very carefully whether it is worth employing foreign labour. As employing foreign workers is not always cheaper than introducing rationalisation measures, both private and State concerns will be forced to seek their own way out of the situation.

They will be able to decide between rationalisation, which will permanently reduce the labour force they require, and exploiting those sectores of the labour market where there are reserves. One course open to them is increasing the amount of part-time employment. Up to now few part-time jobs have been available.

If these measures bite, Bonn could put into action another section of its action programme and grant foreign workers a longer residence permit than the twelve-month document they receive at present. Their legal status would then be improved.

Once some balance has been established between the employment of foreign workers and the ability of the social infrastructure to absorb them, it should be so permanent that it does not easily break down.

The question is whether an increase in the hiring charge to one thousand Marks will actually prove a deterrent or whether the effects will simply be swallowed up by the continuing economic boom.

If this new ruling does not prove to be as successful as hoped, Bonn has another weapon in reserve to solve the problem — a special charge on the employment of foreign labour.

But Bonn will have to take this action off its own bat.

The European Community's regional and welfare policy is still in its infancy. Taking production to the workers instead of viceversa will remain no more than a good intenfion for some time yet.

Klaus Bohnhof

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 July 1973)

No power struggle in the FDP

Continued from page 3

activity within the party as their growing popularity in the country is due almost exclusively to the reputation of their government ministers.

The party could find itself in Opposition after the next general election if the SPD maintains its absolute majority. That is why it is paying court to the CDU/CSU.

But this is only one side of its two-edged strategy. The Free Democrats realise that according to the public opinion polls the SPD would obtain 52 per cent of the votes at a forthcoming general election. Together, the CDU with 37 per cent and the FDP with eleven per cent would only form a minority.

The Free Democrats realise that gains in their percentage share of the vote will be of little benefit to them if the SPD should obtain an absolute majority. That is why the party has issued warnings to the SPD recently and made friendly gestures towards the CDU/CSU. This must not (yet) be confused with any offers to form a future coalition. *Ulrich Frank-Planitz*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 6 July 1973)

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the committee of inquiry is connected with another case. On 6 July Free Democrat Karl Geldner presented a sworn declaration which seems to throw light on when the CSU tried to recruit him during a troublesome period for the government.

But members of the Baden-Württemberg intelligence service for whom Steiner worked under the name Zacharias were unable to raise the committee of inquiry's hopes of obtaining conclusive proof.

"Steiner's memory is not all that reliable," Lahnstein claims. Steiner himself always complained that he had no head for figures. One wit immediately conjectured that Steiner could have made a mistake about the number of noughts in the fifty thousand Marks' bribe he is alleged to have received. But nobody in Bonn has the heart to laugh about jokes in such bad taste. *Hans Jörg Sottorf*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 July 1973)

Wage awards negated by galopping inflation

Workers have been driven to a point of rebellion by the compliant attitude of the trade unions and are refusing to obey either management or local trade union officials. Only a few months after manufacturers and the trade unions agreed to new pay deals the country is being swept by a wave of wild-cat strikes.

Workers came out at both Mannesmann in the Ruhr and the Vulkan works in Bremen. Token strikes were staged at Volkswagen and Klöckner. Trade union headquarters and works councils were unable to prevent these actions and often made only a half-hearted attempt to stop them. The workers struck on their own initiative as they felt they were doublecrossed during the pay negotiations in the spring.

Many people claim that the leaders of the new strike movement are secret agents from the East and officials of the new Communist parties springing up all over the Federal Republic.

Alarmed manufacturers claim that these people wish to smash the democratic system and undermine the freedom to negotiate pay deals which has proved such an efficient method since the end of the Second World War.

But democracy and the freedom to negotiate pay deals do not represent virtues in their own right. They can only function as long as they fit in with the interests of the parties concerned.

Interests were not balanced adequately during the pay negotiations in the spring however and this seems to be the main csuse of the wild-cat strikes. The weekly housekeeping interests workers more than world revolution.

To support the government in its efforts to stabilise the value of the Mark, the large trade unions took a daring step last autumn and this spring — they exercised moderation in their negotiations with employers and accepted wage increases that would not increase consumption and consequently, inflation.

But soon after these pay deals had been accepted the workers began to feel the effects of the trade unions' policy of stability. They noticed that their wage increase did not give them increased purchasing power as price rises, certain tax increases and additional expenditure on social insurance contributions soon swallowed the extra money they received.

The worse inflation became — and it has never been worse in the past 25 years — the more these pay deals turned out to repersent a cut in real wages. Manufacturers rejected works councils' demands for pay increases outside the usual machinery and the risk of strike spread. The danger increased for these firms as other concerns were tacitly tending to grant wage increases over and above those agreed in pay deals.

To express this in more simple terms the balance of interests between employers and employees no longer functioned in pay deals negotated with stability in mind. The deals did not correspond to the situation on the labour market either. The workers would have been able to negotiate a far better settlement for themselves.

The situation on the labour market is even more in the workers' favour today. There is more demand for their services now than there ever has been. It is not surprising that they are taking action of their own to try and obtain what they could have had before.

But the spontaneous action of the industrial workers endangers stability more than higher wages would have done before. Management and the trade unions both find themselves forced to correct the mistakes of last autumn and this spring with as little fuss as possible. To prevent further strikes, they will both have to tolerate wage increases far exceeding the norms originally agreed upon in the pay deal negotiations.

That would not be bad in itself. But it is already easy to forecast how future pay deals will be conducted and then it is bad. The signs are that the government's policy of stability will remain unsuccessful until the next round of pay talks at least.

The trade unions will then consult the statistics recording the drop in purchasing power and demand wage increases of over ten per cent. They will also insist that the voluntary pay increases now being granted should be incorporated in the new pay deal.

The long-term effects of the wild-cat strikes could therefore be more detrimental to the government, trade unions and workers have learned from the events of the first six months of 1973 that stability cannot be decreed via friends in the unions.

They will have to recognise the pointlessness of ignoring the laws of the market in a system based on the free negotiation of wages. One day greater attention will have to be paid to these laws of the market.

The more these laws of the market govern future negotations, the greater the temptation becomes of finding a way round them through legislation. The ugly word for this procedure is "wage freeze". If the next pay deals encourage inflation as much as expected, there will be serious discussion about imposing a price freeze for the first time since the war.

The wild-cat strikes in recent weeks cannot be held responsible for any such conseqeunces of a poorly-conducted policy of stability. But they are the first sign for the poor quality of government stability measures since the governing coalition's election victory last autumn.

Ernst Willenbrock

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 8 July 1973)

COMMON MARKET

US soybean export embargo upsets EEC applecart

"I wouldn't be at all surprised if Common Market Agricultural Commissioner Lardinois were to go down on bended knees before long and beg President Nixon to be allowed to purchase more agricultural produce in the United States," a European Community official recently wisecracked.

Only a week beforehand France had wielded all the influence at its command in the Council of Ministers to ensure that in the forthcoming round of international trade talks no further breaches are made in the common agricultural market for imports from the United States and elsewhere.

Two days later, to the dismay of both Europe and Japan, President Nixon imposed restrictions on soybean exports. Further embargoes are felt to be within the realms of possibility.

Traditional stands in the debate on the future relationship between Western Europe and the United States seem suddenly to have turned turtle.

In monetary policies, power supplies and technology developments are also in the offing that will compel statesmen and industrialists on both sides of the Atlantic to reconsider their views.

America's export restrictions on soybeans mainly affect cattle and poultry farmers in Europe. It could well be that the Common Market's cereal and butter surplus will soon cease to represent a problem even though President Nixon plans to decontrol soybean exports after the next harvest.

The ties between America's soybean embargo and Europe's céreals surplus are, as it happens, surprisingly close.

In the past soya beans imported from the United States have, according to Common Market statistics from Brussels, met sixty per cent of the European Community's fodder requirements.

To fill the gap the Common Market could, of course, fall back on its wheat surplus. But the protein content of wheat is only a third of the soybean protein count, so the present wheat suplus would, at a rough estimate, be used up.

The Common Market's agricultural fund would have to subsidise wheat as fodder in order not to price meat, milk, eggs and poultry out of the market.

President Nixon had to impose the export restrictions because of changes in ocean currents off the coast of Peru. The United States is the world's major supplier of soybeans but also uses fishmeal from Peru as fodder.

Variations in Pacific Ocean currents have resulted in a decline in fish catches off the coast of Peru and a corresponding decline in Peru's fishmeal yield. Within a year the price of soybean meal in the United States increased by no less than 320 per cent.

President Nixon was forced to impose a partial ban on soybean exports in order to combat spiralling food prices at home. American farmers are already arguing that eggs are netting them a loss of half a cent each. Animal foodstuffs are fast growing scarce in US supermarkets.

America's anti-inflation measures ought to be to Europe's liking since the current inflationary trends in Europe are largely the result of inflation in the United States.

The current changes off the coast of Peru will also, in the long term, result in upward pressure on meat prices in particular in Western Europe, but the immediate repercussions could at least be partially offset if wheat fodder were subsidised in time from the common agricultural fund.

Funds are available for the time being and do not need to be raised by means of additional levies because the greater part of the common agricultural fund's revenue comes from import levies, again for the most part on agricultural produce, that flow straight into the Common Market's coffers.

Without going into undue detail the resulting tendency would be a further weakening of the dollar in relation to the European currencies floating jointly in terms of dollars and cents.

Yet currency specialists already feel the dollar to be undervalued, and France, not to mention other Common Market countries, reckons that its export prospects in relation to non-Market countries are taking a knock.

As recently as four years ago all European countries lamented that the Americans, using dollars that then were overvalued, were buying up European firms and their patent rights at give-away prices.

Now the boot is on the other foot and European firms have a golden opportunity of buying their way into US technology for a song. Never before have American stocks and shares been so inexpensive for European buyers.

To judge by recent statistics British firms seem to have most firmly grasped the opportunity even though sterling is not exactly the world's hardest currency at present.

From the monetary angle European take-over bids for American firms would be desirable as a means of re-exporting to the United States the thousands of millions of dollars that have been transferred to Europe in recent years by speculators.

What is more, Western Europe would, by buying its way into US know-how, help to bridge the technological gap that separates the two sides of the Atlantic.

The recent revaluation of the Mark has afforded this country additional protection. For some time other Common Market countries have been wondering how it is that despite a succession of revaluations this country's exports continue to soar.

One possible explanation that has now occurred to them is this: Maybe Federal Republic exporters have been able to maintain their position because imported raw materials and semi-finished products have grown successively cheaper with each revaluation of the Mark.

The latest developments ought to give rise to an agonising reappraisal on both sides of the Atlantic. Were France and other Common Market countries right to object to increases in agricultural imports from the United States?

For that matter, were Washington and this country right in advocating a wider scope for agricultural imports from the United States?

Is it a mistake for countries to make revaluations merely in the light of their export prices? How much of a role do cheaper imports play in offsetting the higher cost of exports in terms of other currencies?

Might not a temporarily undervalued dollar be of greater use to Europe than the swift return to dollar convertibility demanded by the French?

This is a long list of questions. The answers chosen could easily enough be the wrong ones.

At all events it is apparent that the mutual interdependence of the United States, the Common Market and Japan on the one hand (Japan is far harder hit than Western Europe by the US embargo on soybean exports) and developing countries such as Peru and the petroleum-exporting countries on the other is underestimated. *Erich Hauser*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1973)

Clouds gather at Strasbourg Parliament

For six months members of the European Parliament, Strasbourg were delighted with their latest parliamentary privilege of British provenance — question time. Then, at their July session, the crunch came.

Of the thirteen executive members of the European Commission only Commissioners Cheysson of France, Hillery of Ireland and Scarascia Mugnozza of Italy were present.

Petrus Josephus Lardinois, Commissioner for Agriculture and the man of the moment had he but been present, was away at an agricultural fair in London.

The clash might not have occurred had not Signor Scarascia Mugnozza, whose duties include relations with the Parliament, so steadfastly refused to stand in for his fellow-Commissioner.

Last year he himself was responsible for agriculture, though he cut a rather poor figure, and on this occasion he insisted that relevant documents were not at his disposal, that he had not been issued with relevant instructions, and generally so annoyed the Strasbourg MPs that they felt they were being deprived of their right to table questions.

Britain's Peter Kirk, leader of the Conservative group, rated the Italian Commissioner's refusal to commit himself contempt of Parliament and threatened to introduce a motion of no confidence in the luckless Scarascia Mugnozza.

Eventually, despite vigorous protests from the floor, question time was declared ended.

The European Parliament enjoys so few powers that it is hardly surprising MPs are riled. 183 of them, not including Britain's Labour contingent, who have yet to join the ranks of parliamentarians seconded to Strasbourg from Bonn, Paris, Westminster and so on, can as yet only make binding decisions regarding their own budget of 24 million units of account (erstwhile dollars) this financial year.

An improvement on this state of affairs is not to be expected until 1975. Then, and then only, is the European Parliament to be granted a greater say in the spending of the Common Market's budget.

Most of the Commission's proposals must be submitted to the Parliament for debate, but the decisions are made exclusively by the Council of Ministers over which the Strasbourg Parliament has no powers of veto.

Even such additional powers as it may gain in the course of time will be granted by the grace and favour and are subject to the permission of the Council of Ministers, the very body on whose prerogatives additional powers must necessarily impinge!

It took two years of debate for question time to gain approval by all concerned, yet few procedures illustrate so well the intrinsic weakness of the European Parliament.

The Commission can be summoned to Strasbourg without difficulty, but whether the Council of Ministers submits to question and answer depends on whether or not the Ministers in question are prepared to submit to the cross-fire.

In his maiden speech in January Mr Kirk shocked the old hands with allegations of inactivity and promises that his group would utilise to the full the parliamentary means at its disposal.

In threatening to table a motion of no confidence in Signor Scarascia Mugnozza he was, however, overplaying his hand. The European Parliament is entitled to pass by a two thirds majority a vote of no confidence in the Commission as a whole but not in an individual member of the Commission.

What is more, the Strasbourg MPs ought in any case to have been aware of the fact that Agricultural Commissioner Lardinois would not be there.

Their agricultural committee was not only informed of the London visit but had also given its approval, particularly as one-time Dutch Agriculture Minister Lardinois had undertaken to appear before the Parliament two days later.

Somewhere along the line there must have been a breakdown in communications. Hw else could the assembly as a whole not have known that the Commissioner had, as it were, been given leave of absence?

So the Storm that brewed in Strasbourg, threatening to make things hot for the European Commission, turned out to be a storm in a teacup.

(Handelsblatt, 4 July 1973)

INDUSTRY

More and more firms become limited companies

This country's industry is changing its structure — more and more concerns are abandoning their status as joint-stock companies and are becoming limited companies.

This trend has been prompted by two measures proposed by the government — the reform of legislation applying to limited companies and regulations allowing broader sections of the population to participate in the productive capital of industry.

These plans are not prompted merely by the fact that the number of persons purchasing shares for the first time has dropped. As many as 1.3 million persons who bought VEBA shares when they were first issued have sold them — that is more than half.

It appears that the Federal Republic cannot be turned into a nation of share-holders — and definitely not where limited companies are concerned. Bonn will have to think again.

The number of joint-stock companies dropped from 6,094 to 2,271 between 1937 and the end of last year although basic capital rose from 18.7 to 64.3 milliard Marks.

— The number of limited companies rose from 30,545 to 100,690 in the same time span and capital increased to just under 53 milliard Marks.

At the end of last year the capitalisation of limited companies was even twenty per cent less than that of the joint-stock companies. The ten years between 1963 and 1973 have now became known as the decade of the limited companies. In this period alone the number of firms more than doubled and their capital rose by 150 per cent.

In 1972 alone no fewer than 16,989 new limited companies with a basic capital of one and a half milliard Marks were listed the Federal Republic's trade register.

But 2,725 already existing limited companies increased their basic capital to a total five and a half milliards Marks. Four and a half milliards of this sum were raised from capital and material investment and only one milliard from capital increases out of the limited company's own funds.

This marks a turning-point. For the first time the increase in the capital of limited companies has exceeded the capital increases of the 425 joint-stock companies which amounted to only four milliard Marks.

Interest in share dealings waned. Twelve joint-stock companies with a capital of 11.3 million Marks started liquidation proceedings and a further nine with a capital of 28.1 million Marks folded up completely.

The remainder were not considered a good investment on the stock exchange, even if they wanted to be represented. At the end of last year only 505 of the Federal Republic's joint-stock companies were quoted on the stock exchange. This was fewer than one quarter. But these joint-stock companies quoted on the stock exchange possessed basic capital of 38 milliard Marks — more than half of the basic capital owned by all 2,271 joint-stock companies. *Gert Tigges*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 July 1973)

Americans propose fuel-sharing project

The United States government wishes to intensify cooperation between America and Europe in various critical sectors of oil supply, State Secretary Detlev-Karsten Rohwedder of the Economic Affairs Ministry learned during negotiations with senior officials of the Nixon administration.

Washington wishes to draw up international procedure for sharing fuel supplies in times of crisis and increase consultation and cooperation between the oil-consuming countries. This must not however be regarded as a bloc opposing OPEC, the organisation of oil-producing countries.

Rohwedder was also told that the current energy crisis in America appeared to be drawing towards an end and that it was now hoped to regain control over the supply bottlenecks in the refinery sector. The Americans believe that Europe and Japan, with their even greater reliance on external fuel sources, have more grounds to fear an energy crisis.

As far as the forthcoming GATT negotiations have been instructed to claim mentioned the difficulties they recently had in passing the Trade Bill. The US government sees the GATT negotiations about compensation as an important test and hopes to be able to present Congress with a satisfactory outcome to these talks. Washington expects compensation for the entry of the three new members into the European Community.

Rohwedder states that the American negotiators have been instructed to claim compensation in the agricultural sector as well as for losses American exports sustain in the industrial sector.

State Secretary Rohwedder had talks with Mr. Casey, who is responsible for economic questions as well as being deputy secretary for foreign affairs, with Mr. Flanigan, President Nixon's chief adviser on trade policy, with the head of the President's economic affairs committee, Dr Stein, and with Deputy Secretary of State Simon who is responsible for energy supply.

The question of sharing and rationing reserves of imported crude oil would soon be discussed by the appropriate committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Rohwedder announced.

(Handelsblatt, 6 July 1973)

Volkswagen plans to start factory in America

Rudolf Leiding, head of Volkswagen, told two thousand shareholders at the recent annual general meeting in Wolfsburg that his organisation is considering setting up plant in the United States. The American branch would use parts manufactured in the Federal Republic.

"Establishing a factory in America would help ensure full employment at our factories in the Federal Republic and would be to the trading advantage both of the Federal Republic and other countries," Leiding explained. The United States is seeking a reduction in imports while Bonn wishes to reduce exports.

Leiding spoke of the need to end Volkswagen' overwhelmin dependece on exports. At present the firm is exporting more than seventy per cent of its production and is therefore particularly sensitive to any alteration of currency exchange rates. Exporting sixty per cent of production and selling forty per cent to the home market would not represent such a great risk currency-wise, Leiding stated.

Leiding was confident that Volkswagen could regain its dominant position in the automobile industry once its new models were in full production. But this would not be easy in the face of growing British and Japanese competition, he admitted.

Leiding pointed out that the Passat and other new models soon to be unveiled would have front-wheel drive and a water cooling system though Volkswagen was not going to abandon its air cooling system completely.

There has been a Volkswagen revival in a number of countries, Leiding maintained. "I am certain that the old Beetle will continue to exist at the end of the seventies," he forecast.

Turning to the current financial year, Leiding stated that VW had delivered 1,025,000 vehicles all over the world in the first five months, 13.8 per cent more than in the comparable period last year.

Volkswagen's increased sales have been relatively modest at only 3.9 per cent, he admitted. But the 65.6 per cent growth where Audi NSU was concerned reflected the success of the Audi 100 model.

The turnover of the organisation as a whole increased 12.1 per cent between January and May to total seven and a half milliard Marks. Volkswagen's turnover had increased 13.6 per cent to reach 5.1 milliard Marks. It was however wrong, Leiding pointed out, to expect greater profits as a result. No spectacular improvement of the current position can be expected this year.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 4 July 1973)

Business looks up for the chemicals industry

The chemicals industry in the Federal Republic increased its turnover by an unexpectedly high 13.7 per cent in the first four months of this year. With a turnover of 20.7 milliard Marks there has been an evident revival in his sector after three years of poor business.

The Chemicals Industry Association's annual report for 1972/73 however views the prospects for 1973 as a whole with some caution as the full effects of the currency crisis and the government and Federal Bank's stability and credit policies are still not known.

The Association repeated members' fears that the abolition of tax write-offs and the investment surcharge imposed by the recent stabilisation package might also effect investment aiming at greater rationalisation and cheaper prices.

Foreign trade contributed most to the revival of the chemical industry. Exports up to and including April increased by over twenty per cent to reach 8.2 milliard Marks.

As far as price rises are concerned, the chemicals industry one again set a good example to the rest of industry. Manufacturing prices were only raised by 1.3 per cent between January and April

Last year the chemicals industry was able to achieve its paramount aim as manufacturers — the improvement of profits — by raking in an extra 25 per cent. But this only partly balanced the forty per cent drop in 1970 and 1971.

Profits rose considerably more impressively than turnover which increased by only six per cent to total 56 milliard Marks. Personnel figures remained largely constant at 577,000.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 July 1973)

Western European companies cooperate in computer giant

The Compagnie Internationale pour l'Informatique (CII), Philips and Siemens plan to cooperate in computers using the name UNIDATA.

An agreement signed on 4 July merging the interests of these three companies in the data-processing sector has resulted in the establishment of one of the largest computer groups outside the United States.

Process computers and other special installations will remain the property of the parent companies. At the signing ceremony it was also stated that the agreement on cooperation was open to other concerns.

UNIDATA obviously aims at cooperation with the Nixdorf-Telefunken computer group. Cooperation with American computer firms cannot be excludedeither. Approachesto the British company ICL are also being considered even though Siemens has responded coolly in the past to offers from London. Now that Britain has entered the Common Market perhaps Philip's will be able to change Siemens' mind.

A number of statistics illustrate the significance UNIDATA could have for Europe. The companies in the group deliver twenty thousand items of equipment ranging from office computers to large-scale computer installations. The value of these installations amounts to six milliard Marks.

The group's annual turnover totals 2.2 milliard Marks. Fifty per cent of the sum is registered by Siemens. Its share of the market amounts to eight per cent in Europe and two per cent internationally. The group's share of the Federal Republic market is the same as that of Siemens — sixteen per cent.

The UNIDATA companies employ a staff of 35,000 in their computer section — sixteen thousand at Siemens, twelve thousand at Philips and seven thousand at CII. The group has fourteen development and production centres in six countries and distribution and service agencies in more than thirty. A committee consisting of three delegates from each of the three companies will be responsible for business policy. CII, Philips and Siemens are to set up three UNIDATA branches in Paris, Apeldoorn and Munich to coordinate and supervise the activities of the three partners within UNIDATA. The heads of the three firms' computer sections will act as heads of these branches.

Eighteen months were needed to reach the present agreement as it was hard to reconcile the interests of the three partners. The majority on the national distribution companies will not lie with the UNIDATA financial holding company in Amsterdam.

France and the Federal Republic will each have two UNIDATA distribution branches. In the Federal Republic Siemens will have a majority say in the affairs of the branch distributing large and medium-scale computer systems while Philips has an eighty per cent share in the profitable office and small-scale computer market. Only the remaining twenty per cent will be administered by the financial branch in Amsterdam. None of the three partners will be able to obtain the majority on this holding company.

All methods and channels of distribution will be standardised and joint distribution companies will gradually be built up on a national basis.

Research, development and production will be carried out in the supply centres of the parent companies. These supply centres will be supervised and coodinated by the distribution branches. A company will be set up in Amsterdam to administer the joint distribution companies on behalf of the three UNIDATA partners.

(Handelsblatt, 6 July 1973)

■ SHIPPING

Union officials blacklist 100 ships that defy wage agreement

Strike action by seamen and dockers against merchant shipping in this country has been taken only three times since the war: in 1953, 1970 and 1972. Another spate could now be in the offing. ÖTV, the transport workers union, to which 12,000 out of roughly 35,000 Federal Republic seamen belong, has strike and boycott moves in the pipeline.

Some 100 freighters owned by fifty shipping firms in this country to which, the management claims, last January's new wage agreement (including nine-per-cent increases) does not apply, are in line for blacklisting.

ÖTV has already appealed to the International Transport Workers Federation for support in 'blacking' the rogue freighters, and to be on the safe side the union has despatched officials by air to Scandinavia, Benelux and overseas in order to ensure that even ports that are off the beaten track know who the offenders are and take appropriate action.

This trade union chase is symptomatic of the economic straits the Federal Republic merchant navy is in. In days gone by Kaiser Wilhelm II reckoned that Germany's future was on the high seas. Certainly, many owners are currently in deep water.

"Successive Mark revaluations have proved a grave setback in the face of international competition," Dr Karl-Hartmann Necker, president of the Federal Republic Shipowners Association, claims. "Staff and capital investment costs have also risen sky-high."

Once upon a time, before the First World War, the Germans had the second-largest merchant navy in the world, consisting of 2,090 vessels with 5.1 million gross registered tons between them. Germany was second only to Britain with 8,587 ships and 18.9 million gross registered tons.

Currently the Federal Republic rates only ninth in the tonnage stages with 744 vessels and some seven million GRT. This country's stake in the world's merchant fleet is a fraction over three per cent.

Dr Necker notes worriedly that this state of affairs exists despite the fact that foreign trade, specifically this country's exports and imports, is increasing by leaps and bounds.

Thirty-seven out of the country's 148 shipping companies have a mere 5,000 tons afloat, equivalent to one medium-sized freighter. A further 41 shipowners own between 5,000 and 20,000 tons, say three to four medium-sized freighters.

Some sixty per cent of the overall tonnage is owned by two dozen companies. So far they alone have been in a position to modernise and change over to larger units, be they container freighters, lash ships or tankers.

The flagship of the Federal Republic's merchant navy is the 254,000-ton *Esso Europa* owned by Esso Tankers of Hamburg.

The most up-to-date container fleet, consisting of ten units between 15,000 and 55,000 GRT, is the Hamburg Express fleet owned and run by the country's largest and oldest line, Hapag-Lloyd of Hamburg, with an annual turnover of 1,100 million Marks.

Since the war merchant shipping in this country has invested 19,000 million Marks in new and converted vessels. Government subsidies in the form of low-interests loans, direct grant, subsidies towards interest payments and scrap allowances have amounted to some 2,000 million Marks.

Currently both government assistance and willingness to risk capital investment have declined, and the industry can field a number of arguments by way of explanation:–

–Finance for the construction of expensive new vessels must be raised on the no less expensive domestic market with interest rates of twelve to thirteen per cent.

–Ten per cent premium (fifteen per cent for tankers) on new vessels is only paid to owners who have their ships built in local yards, which again are far more expensive than those in other countries.

– Domestic legislation compels owners to take on larger crews than necessary. These crews earn more money than sailors from any other countries in Europe. Costs are likewise boosted by strict safety precautions.

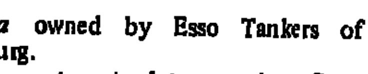
Even the Hapag-Lloyd container fleet, in which rationalisation has been a byword, still carries a complement of forty-two: one captain, four navigational officers, one radio officer, two cadets, one chief engineer, three engineers, one electrician, one assistant electrician, three technical assistants, three stewardesses, one boatswain, one carpenter, one storeman, six stokers, eight ABs, one cook, one cook's mate, one steward and two washers-up.

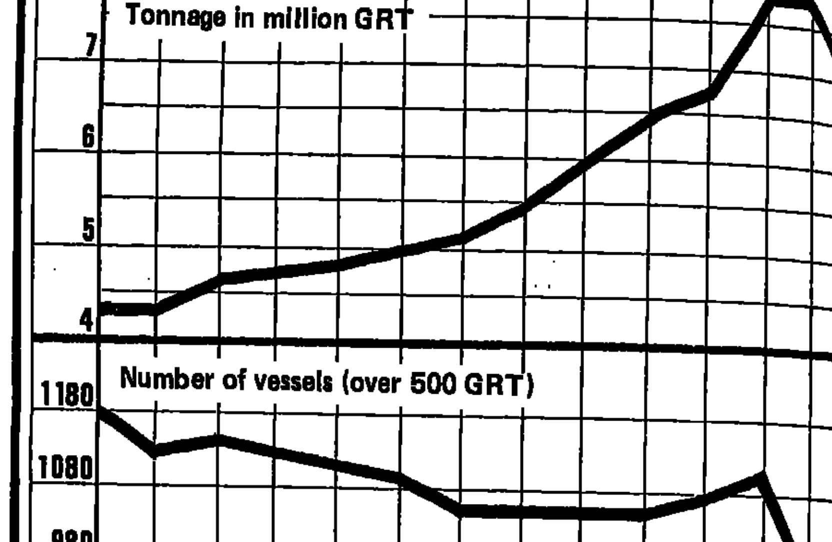
They earn good money too, which is more than used to be the case. For years the boot was on the other foot, but since 1969 wages have risen by two thirds.

Thousands of sailors from this country used to work on foreign vessels because the money was better. The situation has so changed that only 800 still work for foreign owners.

By the terms of the current wage agreement a deckhand can earn up to 1,350 Marks a month, including overtime.







(Diagrams: Wirtschaftswoche No. 28)

Now a deckhand can be compared with a non-skilled industrial worker and these are the official rates. He may be paid more.

A boatswain, comparable with a master craftsman in an industrial trade, earns roughly 2,400 Marks a month.

A radio officer earns up to 3,000 Marks a month, a chief engineer some 3,800 Marks and a captain – at union rates – anything up to 4,536 Marks.

All members of crew are guaranteed three months holiday a year. "In the course of time we are going to have to give them even more," Herbert C. Helms, himself an ex-president of the shipowners association, feels.

In order to prevent hardship all owners allow crew members to take their wives with them on long journeys, and certainly permit wives on board, though not, as yet, fiancées and girlfriends. On coastal routes Hapag-Lloyd even allow children on board.

Up-to-date container vessels boast swimming-pools, games and hobby rooms, a photo lab, a library and a cinema. Size and fittings of cabins and messes are well above international minimum standards, which specify for ships of more than 10,000 tons 4.75 square metres of cabin per AB and 7.5 square metres per officer.

On Hapag-Lloyd's container vessels wage costs represent only five per cent of running costs, but on most not so up-to-the-minute 5,000 to 10,000 ton... wages still account for between thirty... forty per cent of operational costs, so... country's merchant navy is unlikely... the immediate future to excel... international comparisons of e... economy or competitiveness.

Profit and, indeed, survival condi... tions are forcing many owners... emigrate, as it were. A consider... number of their vessels have be... reregistered under flags of conven... countries such as Liberia, Pana... Greece, Honduras, Cyprus and Leba... charging lower taxes, insisting on lo... minimum wages and enforcing less str... safety regulations.

Hamburg shipowner Frank M. F... does a little arithmetic to demo... that on a 15,000-ton multi-p... freighter the difference in wages... between the home ensign and a flag... convenience can be anything up to... million Marks a year depending on the... extent of automation. Two of his... ships fly the flag of Panama.

Since April 1971 two hund... freighters with a combined tonnage of... million GRT, or four times the volume... Hamburg's Alster, the city-centre la... with its yachts and ferry-boats, have be... deregistered in this country and trans... ferred, for the most part, to flags... convenience by the same, domes... owners.

For the first time since the war th... tonnage of the country's merchant fle... has taken a dive.

ÖTV, the trade union, does not deny the fact. Nonetheless it is determined to ensure that the rogue freighters and blacklisted shipowners pay their m... eleven per cent more, not nine per cent... in January.

Trade union officials are fighting fo... cause in which they no longer belie... ÖTV shipping expert Heinrich Rake, wh... was himself a ship's officer for ten years... admits that "going to sea is no longer a... attractive proposition for anyone."

His assistant, one-time captain U... Klein, reckons that "every day you sp... at sea is time lost."

Klein left the merchant navy to st... law at university three years ago and w... shortly take his degree. His faculty... Hamburg University has no fewer th... forty ex-captains and ship's off... enrolled as students. There is an... larger number at the economics fa... where admission requirements are... strenuous.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 6 July 1973)

Ten Major shipping lines in this country

In 1,000 GRT (as at 1 June 1973)

Shipping line	1,000 GRT
Hapag Lloyd, Hamburg – 61 vessels	840
Deutscher Shell Tanker, Hamburg – 11 vessels	438
Esso Tankschiff, Hamburg – 10 vessels	410
Deutsche Afrika Line, Hamburg – 27 vessels	404
Schulte & Bruns, Emden-Bremen – 31 vessels	384
Frigga Line, Hamburg – 8 vessels	370
Schlüssel Line, Bremen – 8 vessels	268
Hansa Line, Bremen – 31 vessels	267
Ernst Russ, Hamburg – 10 vessels	262
Egon Oldendorff, Kiel – 14 vessels	252

Liner sale

Hanseatic, Deutsche Atlantik Line's 23,000-ton liner, is up for sale. Owner Axel Bitsch-Christensen was not prepared to discuss the price of his luxury liner, but disclosed that it is to be handed over to the new owner, Home Lines of Geneva, at the end of September. The new owner's vessels are registered in Panama. The sale has been rendered necessary by the dollar crisis, it was explained.

(Die Welt, 13 July 1973)

■ AUTOMOBILES

Car-owners should not be completely ignored in city traffic plans

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Future of Our Cities and The Future of the Automobile were the twin topics of a two-day press gathering held at Garmisch-Partenkirchen by the Motor Manufacturers Association.

Coping with traffic was, of course, the problem, and the aim was to shed light on the relationship between automobiles, people and transport.

In the initial lecture Herr Diekmann, an economist, noted that in part pedestrian precincts and the efficiency of public transport systems have been improved but that even in localities where this is the case built-up area still tend to shows signs of bursting at the seams.

Dissatisfaction is growing, emotion is let loose. The private car, both the alleged root of all evil and an alibi, is accused of destroying our cities and representing a threat to the environment.

To this extent there is some justification in asking whether in fact the deliberately promoted concentration of employment in urban areas has not necessarily led to circulation complaints in both the public and private transport sectors.

In many cases building and transport planning have not or have only inadequately been coordinated, with the result that growth has increasingly appeared to be reaching finite barriers.

In the course of the conference, the aim of which was to determine how best to cope with the damage that has already been caused, three lecturers dealt with the specific problems of Frankfurt, Cologne and Munich. It was agreed that merely affording priority to public transport, the government slogan, is not going to solve the problems.

Town planner Wilfried Ehrlich pointed out that the call for a ban on private cars in the city is a grave mistake. Without cars Frankfurt, for instance, could not exist.

The Frankfurt region is inconceivably dependent on private traffic, the city having been rebuilt fairly haphazardly the war along roads left over from the Middle Ages.

When the first transport planners made their appearance in the city in 1960 development had long since rendered sensible solutions to traffic problems impossible. To all intents and purposes Frankfurt was growing faster than planners could respond. Building land prices soared and the construction industry boomed.

Private traffic in city-centres must, of course, be kept to a minimum, but how is one to go about it? Should the number of parking lots be reduced, meter fees be increased or traffic on the move discouraged by reducing access to motor traffic?

If restrictions are to be imposed who is to impose them? Who, for that matter, is going to permit further use of the motor-car? There are a great many questions here and they call for a fair number of answers.

By and large Frankfurt is counting on two moves against long-term parkers to do the trick. When new office blocks are built the parking facility regulations of 1939 are quietly ignored with official approval. Indeed, the fewer parking-lots are provided, the better.

Secondly, the longer you park in city-centre multi-storey car parks, the progressively more expensive it becomes. This change has already led to a reduction in the number of nine-till-five parkers in multi-storey car parks. They are now tending to clutter up the roadside even more.

What is more, the reduction in the number of nine-till-fivers and the corresponding increase in the number of one-hour stands has meant that more traffic has been on the move in the city centre.

Frankfurt is certainly trying to keep city-centre private motorists down to a minimum, as far as transport facilities will reasonably allow. But the required development concept has yet to be found.

The suburban electric and underground railway networks in the process of development will undoubtedly improve the situation, but it will be a long time before alternative facilities are provided that are sufficiently accessible to traffic.

In a sparkling discourse Dieter Kust outlined the traffic problems of Cologne, a city which 205,000 private cars a day already use the bridges over the Rhine in both directions.

Munich architect and publicist Herr Klühspiess chose to dispense with specific facts, preferring instead to provide a firework display of tenets and ideas, details of which cannot be gone into.

The first day of the conference, chaired by Professor Retzko, came to the following conclusions:-

No one could have foreseen ten or fifteen years ago the density of urban traffic today. The blame can hardly be laid at the transport planners' doors. A further increase in city traffic is not advisable, there being a limit to the amount of traffic road and rail can carry.

Residential areas in city centres and their immediate vicinity must be maintained at all costs, and residents must retain their mobility too. City-dwellers must not be allowed to become second-class motorists.

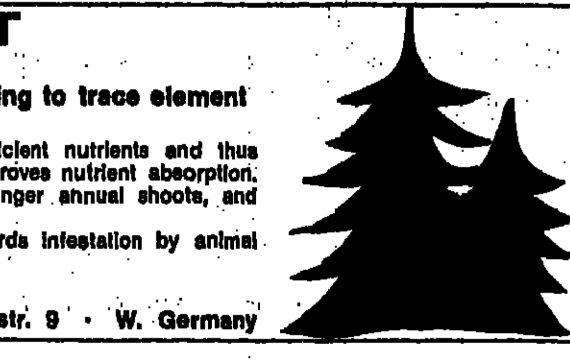
In future suburbs must be provided with rail links with the city, and the city itself must remain habitable, with the shortcomings of all modes of transport kept to a minimum. There must be no through traffic, only local traffic.

People are unquestionably growing more mobile, and improvements to existing road and rail facilities cannot keep pace with developments. If cities are to remain workable priority must indeed be afforded to public transport.

But suburbia spawns not only rush-hour but also shopping and holiday traffic. In a motorised age the private car cannot be dispensed with altogether. A crucial factor in the solution of future transport problems will be improved coordination between urban and transport planners.

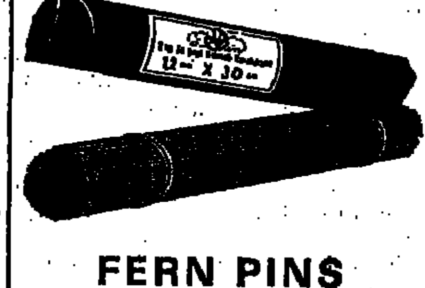
Eberhard Seiffert

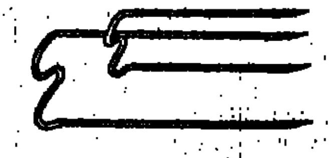
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 June 1973)











■ CINEMA

Indian director Satyajit Ray awarded Berlin's Golden Bear

Satyajit Ray's *Distant Thunder* was judged the best film at this year's Berlin Film Festival and awarded the Golden Bear for what was described as its artistically significant and deeply impressive depiction of human destiny in an easily comprehensible form.

No Berlin Film Festival would be complete without one of the calm, low-profile films by Indian director Satyajit Ray. *Distant Thunder* is a story of village life during the Bengal famine of 1942.

It is a film dealing with the misery that depraves human beings and the Brahman doctor who tries to relieve it. It tells the story with cool, calm credibility that will entrance any filmgoer with the necessary patience.

No Silver Bears were awarded this year for individual performances but this second-highest festival prize did go to six feature films, two from France and one each from Argentina, the Federal Republic, Brazil and Britain.

The Films involved were André Cayatte's *No Smoke without Fire* from France, Leopoldo Torre Nilsson's *Revolution of the Seven Madmen* from Argentina, Yves Robert's *Tall Blond with a Black Shoe*, Norbert Kückelmann's *Experts* from the Federal Republic, the Brasilian film *Nudity will be Punished* by Arnoldo Jabor and David Hemming's *Fourteen*.

André Cayatte's *No Smoke without Fire* and *Return from Africa* by Swiss director Alain Tanner were awarded the prizes of the International Catholic Film Bureau (OCIC) and the international Protestant film jury Interfilm.

Gunshots in the Factory, a film by Finnish director Laukaus Tehtaalla that was premiered at the Berlin Film Festival was awarded three thousand Marks of the Otto Dibelius Film Prize. The Protestant film jury awarded the remaining one thousand Marks to *Josef Schulz*, a short film from Yugoslavia.

France entered Yves Robert's *Tall Blond with a Black Shoe*, a secret service comedy full of subtle humour. The head of a secret service wishes to teach his deputy a lesson for wanting to oust him from his post and sets him on the track of an unsuspecting orchestra violinist.

As the behaviour of any innocent person is bound to appear particularly subtle to secret service agents completely tied up in their work, the spying apparatus produces increasingly senseless results and a large number of comic cinema corpses.

A left-wing film-maker was heard to ask in dead earnest: "What use is a film like this to the working class?" The only possible answer is that the working class laughs along with cinema audiences.

The British film *The Fourteen* takes up a position somewhere between Charles Dickens and an orphaned Trapp Family. A well-meaning welfare department wishes to send fourteen orphans to different homes but family ties prove stronger.

The orphans escape time and again and they all meet on Christmas Eve at the derelict house where they once used to be a family. The younger members of the family are soon offered a home by a farmer and his wife and their elder brothers are astonished to find that children can be as happy in the country as in the slums. David Hemmings directs the film with skill, sentimentality and a dash of working-class naturalism.

Ulli Lommel's *Tenderness of Wolves* met with a mixed reception. Lommel did not plan on producing a historical documentation or a sociological study of the Haarmann case and his film suffers as a result.

The action is transferred from Hanover to the Ruhr and it is set in the period of occupation after the Second World War instead of during the twenties. As the post-war era was not depicted with complete authenticity, the film is not tied down to any period and becomes a cinema *moritat* combining deliberate horror with involuntary comedy.

The audience were amused more than shocked when Haarmann, played by Kurt Raab, kills a boy in a fit of lust, bites through his jugular vein like a vampire and noisily slurps his blood. Despite skilful passages intentionally reminiscent of Fritz Lang's *M* Lommel's film is at best commercial.

Elio Petri continues to aim his sights on the respectable middle classes in his latest film *Property is no longer Theft*. A brutal, rapacious butcher is made so insecure by apparently senseless thefts committed by a small bank employee with an allergy to banknotes that he first tries to bribe him and then stangles him.

This material could certainly form the subject of a biting satire but it is so full of side-plots, reflexion and symbolism that the parable about the corrupting power of the possessor does not get off the ground. The film beats around the central theme with a violent-style humour and only occasionally gets to grips with it.

Though the second half did not quite live up to the hopes raised by the first, this year's Berlin Film Festival was on the whole more profitable than might have been expected after the experience of past years.

Since it was set up in 1971 as a contrast to the main competition, the International Forum of New Films has always proved successful. Once again it fulfilled its function of providing information about advances in cinemas aesthetics. Had it not been for the forum visitors to the Berlin Film Festival would have left thinking that the only trend was towards stale cinema conventions.

The forum has a rational concept and one that is worth copying. It is not hampered by inflexible regulations when selecting its programme. Films such as Jacques Rivette's four and a half hour puzzle *Out One Spectre*, which opens up completely new dimensions of film narrative, and Nagisa Oshima's thirteen-year-old work *Night and Fog over Japan* are screened alongside films with a marked political character which are usually ignored by the larger festivals for reasons of diplomatic convenience.

The forum screened almost thirty films this year. The same themes cropped up time and again. The most common were Fascism, women's liberation, Africa, Latin America or conflicts in the world of labour.

The Forum also allowed audiences to see *Tout va bien*, the film made last year by Jean-Luc Godard which had never been shown in cinemas in the Federal Republic. From a formal point of view, Godard returns to his pre-political period but the subject he deals with is based on the events of May 1968 in Paris.

With two stars – Jane Fonda and Yves Montand – in the main roles the film argues about the position of the middle-class film-maker in the class struggle by using typically Godard-style alienation techniques.

The highlight was Jean Eustache's *La Maman et la Putain* which had attracted attention when screened at Cannes a few weeks previously. The three and a half hour film never becomes boring.

Eustache provides an intensive film portrait of an intellectual down and out in Paris for whom time seems to stand still. The intellectual – played in fascinating manner by Jean-Pierre Léaud – kills time by lying in bed, exchanging gossip in café, listening to music or reading newspapers. He is a good example of the melancholy sort of figure who dreams in vain of a life with meaning.

Helmut Koschenreuther and Gerd Spohn
(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 July 1973)



Scene from Yves Robert's *Tall Blonde with a Black Shoe*



Scene from the Argentinian entry *Los siete locos*
(Photos: Lilo Tessmer-Osten)

Film Forum highlights emancipation

The Young Film-makers' Forum [illegible] year saved the Berlin Film Festival which had arrived at its nadir. So [illegible] question why have the Forum was [illegible] very much to the point.

In 1973 everything is different. [illegible] time round the dividing lines are blur[illegible]. Films like *George qui?* made by Mich[illegible] Rosier have been shown internationa[illegible]. The same is true of Alain Tanner's *Rückkehr aus Afrika* (Journey back from Africa), for Belocchio's *In the Name of the Father* and for Sandra Hochman's *The Year of the Woman*.

The Forum programme seemed [illegible] sensational and the films included [illegible] typical of international tendencies [illegible] cluding films of engagement. We [illegible] able to see Shohei Imamura's intensive study *The Post-War History of Japan and the strife-ridden Life of a Bar Madame* and the controversial film *Night and Fog over Japan* made in 1960 by Nagisa Oshima and *One Side of Madness* made in 1926 by Teinosuke Kinugasa.

There were films to be discussed dealing with Africa, dealing with Latin America's agony, films by young German film-makers and the work of young female German film-makers could be discussed.

The position of women in our society [illegible] not only a constant theme of contemporary films, a theme much discussed by female film-makers themselves, but has become *the* talking point of our society.

At the recent Oberhausen Short Film Festival many of the films shown were made by women and the Berlin Forum 1973 took due note of the importance given to women in any number of [illegible].

Young French producer Michèle [illegible] presents a highly entertaining [illegible] the life of George Sand in her film *George qui?*. Anne Wiazemsky plays the [illegible] role extremely well.

The film also has many [illegible] with contemporary life. Women [illegible] aggressively through the streets [illegible] banners but the links established with the present age remain superficial, the [illegible] women's liberation movements [illegible] mous and the lack of exact [illegible] context spoils what is otherwise a [illegible] depiction of a particular age [illegible].

The people in Alain Tanner's *Return from Africa* appear as characters [illegible] play. Tanner was able to sum up [illegible] situation extremely well. [illegible] starting four persons – [illegible] secretary, Vincent the [illegible] camera that films them and a [illegible] who, by looking at Francoise [illegible]

Continued on page 11

■ THE ARTS

Much Ado and *The Crucible* at Bad Hersfeld Festival

Ulrich Erfurth opened the 23rd Bad Hersfeld Festival with a production of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, newly translated and in a new production by Manfred Vogel.

In *Much Ado* again and again there are continuous leaps in the psychological development. Shakespeare was not timid in including in his play the fantastic, but after the high-spirited, mad jokes there is an earnestness, even tragedy.

These breaks have not been fully explored by Manfred Vogel, although he has produced a piece using contemporary language that is effective.

Every production of *Much Ado* is bedevilled by the fact that the piece is dominated by quick-tempered Beatrice and amusing, tall-story-telling Benedict. This conflict was emphasised by casting Ulli Philipp and Folker Bohnet in these parts. In the Bad Hersfeld production this was made more obvious by the unnecessary clown-like acting of Bohnet. Zascka Duzar and Sigmar Solbach as Hero and Claudio were able to present the originality of their characters in the production although the bitter kernel of the play was lost.

The second premier at the Bad Hersfeld Festival was Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, which was received with rapturous ovations, not only for the excellent staging that Günther Fleckstein presented but also for the play itself. This showed that among the 1,200-year-old monastery ruins where the plays are staged naturalistic pieces can be put on just as well as any other kind of play if the spirit is willing.

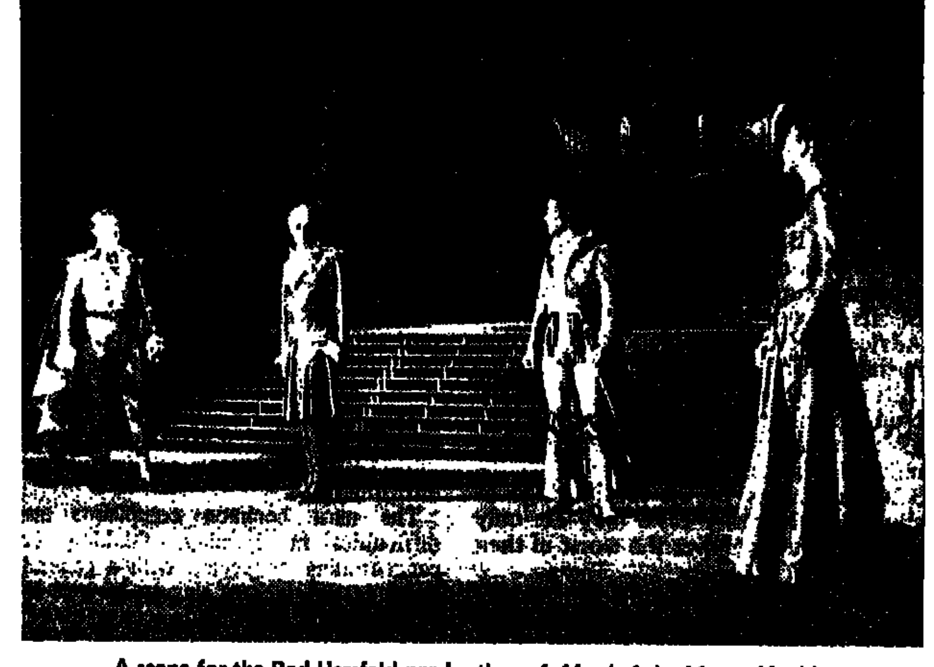
Miller's play tells of a witch hunt in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. It deals with themes that are well known to our times – mass hysteria and collective guilt. Miller begins his play with sharp contrasts that have an affinity with the black-white conflict we know so well today.

Günther Fleckenstein's production is very intense so much so that the observer feels drawn into the action. Fleckstein makes no comment, allowing the story-line and the characters to hold the attention. He does this with great determination.

Cornelia Froboess, who plays Abigail, accented more her lust for power than the burning eroticism that underlay her actions. Frank Hoffmann played Proctor with considerable power even through when he prepares for death he was not quite able to be fully convincing.

Eva Kotthaus was just right as Proctor's wife. Karl Walter Diess as the Reverend Hale was able to bring off the transformation in his personality to show that he had been befooled by the witches. Ernst-Fritz Fürbinger as the deputy governor played excellently the part of the narrow-minded, dour official who was full of anxiety at the consequence of the way things were going.

Hermann Dannecker
(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 July 1973)



A scene for the Bad Hersfeld production of *Much Ado About Nothing*
(Photo: Carl Eberth)

Continued from page 10

Vincent, sees that they are being filmed by a camera."

Tanner too tells the story of emancipation, though its results are dubious. Francoise and Vincent live together in a city, one day they get fed up of working, sell their possessions and plan to go to Africa to visit a friend who will help them.

But the friend does not help them. For days on end they live in an empty apartment, ready to leave at a moment's notice. After a number of weeks they have to move out, rent a smaller flat, start working again and discuss having children.

Now the problems start. Francoise does not see why she should give up work to look after children at home. At the end of the film they play dice to see who should assume this responsibility. Although the viewer never learns the result, it is obvious that Vincent would not be too happy about assuming the role of mother and housewife.

Tanner's film is humorous, realistic and amusing. Though the plot is contrived, the periphery is full of realistic everyday detail. Real people meet the artificial figures of the central plot. No word is spoken about emancipation but it forms the film's central theme – the film ends on the note of emancipation without ever providing the answers.

Another film with a similar subject was Shohei Imamura's *The Post-War History of Japan and the strife-ridden Life of a Bar Madame*. Imamura asks a woman bar-owner about her private and business life past and present and blends in documentary scenes.

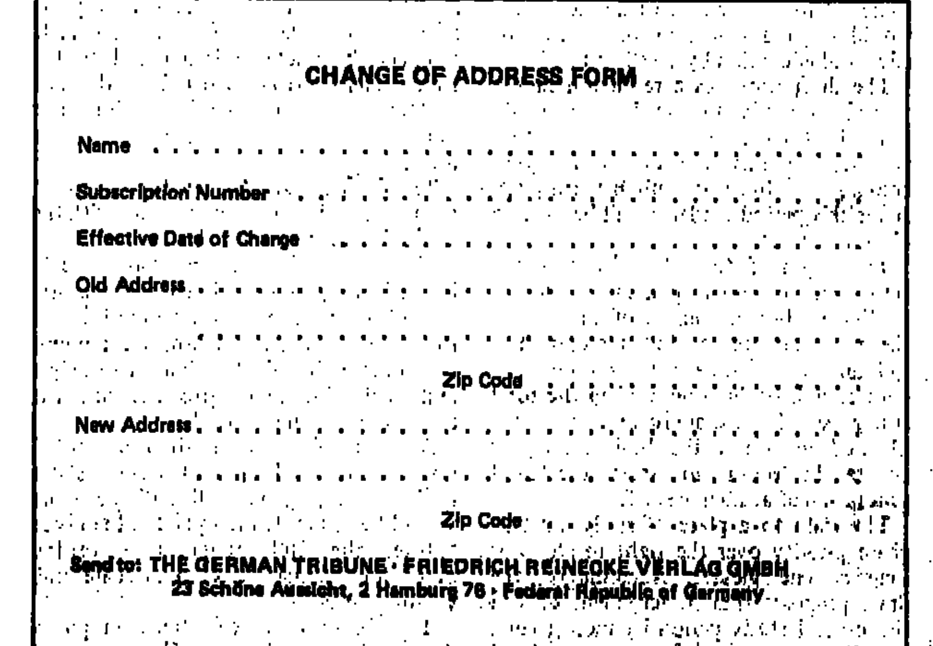
Imamura shows how a woman begins right at the bottom, sells meat on the black market, becomes a barmaid, has an affair with an American soldier and finally marries another in order to receive American citizenship and open a number of bars in the United States.

Imamura presents a woman who is at home in a man's world in her honest, rather vulgar manner, a woman who only thinks of her own advantage and denies anything diverging from her aim.

Sandra Hochman's satirical film *The Year of the Woman* is a cheeky, biting story of men's reactions to the women's liberation movement in America. She scorns American television for refusing to report the large-scale women's congresses and for ignoring the election campaign of such an important politician as Shirley Chisholm.

She interviews men to find out their opinions on women's lib and talks to prophets of the movement such as Flo Kennedy, Gloria Steinem, Shirley McLaine, Bella Abzug and many others. She unleashes scathing attacks on Art Buchwald, John Lindsay, Edmund Muskie, Jerry Rubin and Normal Mailer.

Hermann Riede
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 July 1973)



Ballet in Cologne

Giselle, *Swan Lake* and *The Firebird* are the main ballets to be considered in the 17th Summer School for Dance, Cologne. 600 young dancers from all over Europe can look forward to a lot of hard work practising for these productions at the Summer School that is Europe's largest and most important for ballet students. Twenty two ballet masters from all over the world are providing six courses for the dancers, instructing them in the art of bodily movement to the accompaniment of rehearsal pianos.

The Summer School for Dance was first organised in 1954 and brings to the Federal Republic a faint breath of international ballet.

Six hundred dancers will take part, members of various corps de ballet in this country. Fifty per cent of the professional dancers in companies in this country come from abroad.

Fred Marteny, director of the Summer School for Dancers maintained that a ballet student in this country had to work for ten years before getting a job paid 1,300 Marks. The chances of getting a solo dancer's appointment or ballerina's appointment were very remote.

Despite various outstanding performances by ballet companies from this country in modern productions, companies still needed to fall back on the good old stand-bys such as *Swan Lake* to fill a theatre according to Herr Marteny.

Only the big five in Ballet in this country, Stuttgart, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Cologne, can afford to produce contemporary ballet alongside classical ballet and not have the local cultural affairs authorities up in arms because the theatre seats are not being taken up and the house is only half full.

Herr Marteny has a long-term programme to educate balletomanes in this country to accept more readily modern ballet and modern choreography. He quotes the example of the success in Brussels of Maurice Béjart's *Ballet de cirque* which has played in a circus tent to 4,000 people daily. What is important is to get more and more young people accustomed to the ideas of modern ballet. This can be done, for example, by producing explanatory lectures of modern ballet at schools and universities.

At this year's Summer Dance School young choreographers and dance troupes from 19 different countries will demonstrate how colourful, diverse and contemporary modern ballet can be. They will be able to efface the false ideas that the public has held for a considerable time and reconcile the public with the aims and character of modern ballet.

Helmut aus der Mark
(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 July 1973)

Young Authors Prizes

The awards of the Young Authors Prizes for 1973, made in Würzburg, was a double success for the publishing house of Julius Beltz, Weinheim. Four of the awards given, carrying a cash prize of 7,500 Marks, were given to Bestz authors.

For 1973 a total of 475 publications including children's books and books for young people, two story, books, a picture book and a book of facts, were considered.

The Prize went to Frederick Hetmann for his *Ich habe sieben Leben – Die Geschichte des Ernesto Guevara, genannt Che* with pictures by Günther Stiller, published by Julius Beltz.

Christine Nöstlinger was honoured for her children's novel entitled *Wir pfeifen auf den Gurkenkönig* with pictures by Werner Maurer, published also by Julius Beltz.

Laszlo Reber was honourd for the illustrations and Eva Janikovszky for the text of *Große dürfen alles*, published by Neithard Anrich-Verlag, Mülheim in the Ruhr.

Barbara Wersba was horowed for her book *Ein nützliches Mitglied der Gesellschaft* translated by Hans-Georg Noack from the American original, published by Signal-Verlag, Baden-Baden.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 July 1973)

■ EDUCATION

More and more students seek expert advice

Under Baden-Württemberg university legislation Heidelberg University is reponsible inter alia for the social welfare of its students. The Central Student Advice Bureau does a good deal of work in this sector.

But the three full-time advisers at the bureau are hopelessly overworked as they have to cater for the fifteen thousand university student in the town and the 3,200 members of the local college of education. In many cases they can only just help students over the worst of their troubles.

More and more students and school children are consulting the advice centre. The total rose from 6,319 to 8,019 in the three years from 1969 to 1972. "The increasing use made of the study advice service is due to the growing uncertainty of future students about university opportunities and the rise in pressure caused by stricter conditions of study in many sectors," a recently published report concludes.

More than one third of those people seeking advice are freshers, for the most part those studying the sciences, mathematics or psychology or attending the interpreters' institute.

Among students who have been at university for at least eighteen months the most difficulties are reported by those in the faculties of art (grossly over-represented with 45 per cent of those seeking help), medicine and law.

The number of students seeking advice only drops off after the third year. One remarkable feature is that women students are clearly over-represented. Forty per cent of those students seeking advice are girls even though they make up only 29 per cent of the total student population in the Federal Republic as a whole and 32 per cent in Heidelberg.

Personal difficulties stand in close relationship with study difficulties and are often dependent upon them. At least half the students who consult the advice centre in Heidelberg have serious emotional problems resulting from difficulties they encounter in their course of study.

Dieter Kallinke, the doctor and psychologist who runs the Heidelberg advice centre, and his two assistants, psychologists Jürgen Dieker and Horst Ehler, estimate that at least twenty per cent require psychotherapy. This high proportion corresponds to the number of mentally disturbed persons in the population as a whole.

More and more students are consulting the advice centre which offers its services free and without the usual bureaucratic limitations. Last year the 265 consultations and courses of psychotherapy took up a total of 1,271 hours.

This year a waiting list was set up for the first time. So far it includes one hundred students. Another student advice centre has 250 students on its waiting list.

About half the patients come because of sexual disorders or difficulty in their studies or in making contact with their fellowstudents. Almost sixty per cent of them need no more than a short course of treatment, never lasting longer than five hours. But 28.5 per cent of them need treatment lasting between six and thirty hours and 4.4 per cent even exceed this total.

Girl students make up 34.6 per cent of the total of all persons seeking psychotherapeutic help from the advice centre. This figure is roughly comparable with their share of the total student population and lower than that for the study advice service.

But, as with the study advice service, most of those students seeking help (43.2 per cent) come from the faculty of arts. Medics are in second place with 22 per cent and lawyers only make up five per cent of the total.

The experiences of the Heidelberg advice centre have shown that many students who find it hard to choose a subject suffer simultaneously from other difficulties.

The most common complaints are difficulties in learning, thinking or concentrating connected with a general lassitude and lack of energy as well as strong feelings of inadequacy.

Symptoms of neuroses and psychoses also occur alongside considerable problems in making contacts with fellow-students, syndromes of depression, sexual difficulties and nervous disorders. Time and again those students seeking advice are obviously at a loss what to do when faced with these complex problems or even everyday demands, the report states.

The staff at the advice centre would also like to correct the widespread belief that students have a great deal of freedom in their lives. This attitude contributes much to the general lack of comprehension about the social position of students.

"The much-quoted sexual permissiveness of students is probably first and foremost a projection by those sections of the population that do not feel sexually free," they claim. "The need for information on these questions is as great as the frequency of sexual problems."

More and more students are seeking advice on questions of family planning and sexual relationships.

The problems indicated by these statistics are only the tip of the iceberg, Jürgen Dieker claims. This shows that, under its cloak of academic activity, the university represents a socially inhospitable environment to its members and they automatically suffer as a result.

However the trend manifesting itself at university level has its basis in the schools and reveals the difficulties faced by freshers. At school, Dieter Kallinke remarked, pupils are trained to display individual performances and indulge in competition. They do not learn cooperation or team work.

Having had this inability drummed into them and having been detached from the parental home which acts as a cushion, they enter university and must for the first time seek contact with other persons to whom they can relate.

Apart from this isolation, students are confronted with boundless demands on their performance which often provide academically qualified though educationally incapable university teachers with evidence to justify their derogatory opinions about students.

This applies to an even greater extent to the ever-increasing number of students who have been forced into other departments as the course they wanted to take is subject to severe entry restrictions.

The students' increasing political interest and the formation of political groups are a response to the hostile environment of the university. As Dieter Kallinke says, when the masses become unwell that is also the fault of institutions, though it would be inadmissable from this statement to conclude that politically active students are ill and should not belong to university.

The universities and the professors that are their mainstay react to this provocation with fresh resistance. They have the advantage of the support of an educational bureaucracy which tries to reduce all conflicts to abbreviated patterns of thought. But this is the most blatant disavowal of the universities' obligation to look after their students' welfare.

The student advice centre's main aim is to stabilise the student confronted by university. The advisers admit that they are pursuing a policy of conformity since they try to equate this with the current situation at the universities.

"Effective individual aid is indispensable," they explain, "but if you do nothing any further you are reducing the difficulties of your clients to problems of maintenance . . .

"If you approach the problem in this way you ignore the institution's contribution to the suffering of the individual and lose the chance of shaping a person's environment more appropriately, that is less pathoplastically, by means of structural reforms."

The high suicide rate among students — 25 per 100,000 compared with a considerably lower 14 per 100,000 in the same age range in the population at large — provides grounds for alarm. The suicide rate among foreign students is eight per cent higher. A further symptom: that anything up to a quarter of students end their course of study before sitting their final inations.

Ekkehard K.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 July)

New university legislation to improve efficiency

Education and Science Minister Klaus von Dohnanyi has published a draft of proposed legislation for universities which proposes a reduction in the period of university study from four to three years, a reform of the examination system and the courses of study offered, new entry procedure and a scheme of joint decision-making guaranteeing university teachers a majority on questions of teaching, research and staff appointments.

The Cabinet is to discuss the draft at the end of August and the final Act should pass the Bundestag by the 1974 summer recess at the very latest. The CDU/CSU Opposition has expressed its support for this timetable.

The new draft is based on the Joint Education Commission's forecast that some 22 to 24 per cent of a school year would begin a course at an institute of advanced education by 1980 or 1985.

The draft proposes a reduction in the period of study to the internationally normal length. Comprehensive universities should as a result offer three-year courses of study in suitable subjects. After this period students will be able to obtain a degree.

The length of study should not exceed four years, except in disciplines such as medicine. Shorter courses of study than the norm are not excluded either. The full amount of time spent on practical courses will be incorporated in the total study period. Post-graduate courses are planned to follow the basic three-year course in order to train the next generation of academic staff.

The right to a place of study must be given priority over the right to study as long as one pleases. Accordingly, the draft proposes that students who exceed the normal study period by more than a certain amount will be exmatriculated though they will still retain the right to sit their final examinations.

Experience and ability gained to the course of study will enable the student to miss the initial semesters once he has taken an examination to test his standard.

People already at work will be able to take a shorter course of study concentrating on preparations for the final examination. External examinations are also planned.

The normal periods of study, to which the courses of study will have to be adapted, should take effect two years after the new law comes into force. If Dohnanyi's timetable is adhered to the first students to be affected by the new system will be the freshers who enter university at the start of the 1976 winter term.

The draft stresses the need for a reform of studies to bring them into line with the studen's later career. When reforming their courses of study, universities are to be backed by supra-regional study reform commissions. The recommendations of these commissions will however amount to no more than declarations of principle and will also take into account the universities' own proposals.

As the plans of both the central government and the Federal states indicate that there will still be more would be students than places of study in future, the Bill proposes a central admissions department to allocate university places.

Two basic types of admission procedure will be adopted. Under normal procedure a quarter of the study places available will be awarded to cases of social hardship, to foreign students and students changing their course of study, a quarter to the best school-leavers whereby the Federal states will be required to standardise their school-leaving examinations, a further quarter to would-be students who have waited a certain amount of time for admission and the final quarter will be awarded according to a combination of performance and period of waiting. Special procedure taking account of school performance, interviews and other tests of suitability will operate in subjects where the demand is particularly high compared with the number of study places available. Medicine, pharmacy and dentistry come into this category. Three quarters of the study places available will be awarded on the basis of this special procedure.

The draft has been forced to take account of the Constitutional Court ruling on the Lower Saxony university law and grants university teachers a majority in decisionmaking committees responsible for questions of teaching, research and staff appointments.

Both professors and assistant professors appointed as temporary civil servants for a period of six years come into the category of university teacher. Though they form different groups at universities they are given equal treatment when it comes to the question of decision making.

Combining these two university groups under the category "university teachers" is bound to cause some controversy during discussions at the Bundestag committee stage. Critics believe that this arrangement undermines the verdict of the Constitutional Court.

(Handelsblatt, 4 July 1973)

■ PROFILE

The centenary of the birth of Leo Frobenius

The colonial powers had turned their attention to Africa, the German Empire was only two years old and nobody in Berlin thought of acquiring overseas possessions when Leo Frobenius was born on 29 June 1873 — one hundred years ago.

The Frobenius family — or the Frobens as they were once called — belonged to the upper middle classes established in Berlin. Leo Frobenius' father was a lieutenant-colonel.

But the young Leo never found much attraction in a bourgeois existence and thoughts of a military career did not excite him either. His mother had studied music and planned to become a famous singer before giving up studios when she married. Perhaps this was the source of the restlessness and wanderlust felt by her son.

At first Leo Frobenius wanted to be a businessman and joined a Bremen firm of importers. The city's shipowners and traders regularly brought native art and artifacts back with them from their voyages, and the ethnological museum established in Bremen exerted a greater pull on Frobenius than his office desk.

While in Bremen, Frobenius became acquainted with ethnologist Heinrich Schurtz and his tales of a new world full of strange races and tribes whom the trading giants held for savages.

Leo Frobenius decided to study ethnology. After spells in Dresden and Basle he studied the subject in Leipzig under the famous ethnologist Friedrich Ratzel who taught the science according to purely geographical concepts.

Even before beginning his studies in 1894 the twenty-year-old Frobenius wrote a scientific dissertation on the development of the South Congo Basin as a State and the position of the tribes.

After ending his studies in 1898 he published in quick succession a number of authoritative works on masks and secret societies in Africa, the origins of African civilisation, the ideology of the primitive peoples and the development of Polynesian civilisation in Oceania.

By this time the German Empire had entered the ranks of the colonial powers and had obtained territory in West and East Africa and in the South Pacific. The British and French destroyed the empires and States existing on the African continent. Had Africa ever had a history, people asked.

Leo Frobenius was no supporter of colonialism. He only went to Africa to investigate the way of life, the thought, art and culture of the colonised peoples.

In these years of theory, in which the often controversial Frobenius founded the new discipline of cultural morphology, he became a target of criticism for many scholars as he combined ethnology with geography, archaeology, art and history.

He always had a tendency to abandon empirical research and embark upon philosophical flights fancy and bold historical reconstructions. But it was this that contributed to the fascination exerted by a free thinker who took all substance from the idea that culture and civilisation could only be described as existing among peoples acquainted with the written word.



Leo Frobenius
(Photo: Ullstein)

He did not start practical field work until 1904 when he headed the German Central Africa research expedition to the Congo and Kassai Basins. By the time he made his last trip to Libya in 1935 he had been on twelve large-scale expeditions.

He travelled across half of Africa, discovered the rock paintings of the old African huntsmen, copying five thousand of them with his own hand, provided the first accurate description of the gigantic buildings of Zimbabwe in Southern Africa, collected the myths, legends and fairy-tales of the Black African world and investigated the architecture and religious rites of this region.

He actually rediscovered for the Africans the Africa with its immensely ancient and complex history and modern Black Africa apreciates this.

But the philosopher in Frobenius wanted to help the unknown facts he had unearthed attain new international significance. He claimed that African art was dependent on Greek art.

He developed the doctrine of cultural circles based on the links between certain stylistic forms. He thought up the Paideuma theory, understanding culture as an entity of which Mankind was only a part.

His last great work, his history of African civilisation which appeared in 1933, reveals Frobenius as an imaginative thinker but it also shows the true strength and importance of this famous German ethnologist. In the book Frobenius paid a special tribute to Kaiser William II who had helped him finance his expeditions after 1912.

Frobenius did not obtain academic recognition until the last fifteen years of his life when he set up a department for cultural morphology and was appointed professor at Frankfurt University.

By the time he died at his home on Lago Maggiore on 9 August 1938 at the age of 65 this traveller between two worlds had established a conception for an international history of myth.

(Die Welt, 30 June 1973)

■ OUR WORLD

Too much leisure time is a social hazard, expert claims

Hamburger Abendblatt

Citizens in this country in the not too distant future will work only four days per week. The weekend will be three days long and annual holidays will last eight weeks, adding to the holiday will last and holiday crowds. The desire to have a place in the country will be more widespread.

These statements were made by Professor Erwin Scheuch of the institute of comparative sociological research attached to Cologne University at a congress dealing with consumer and marketing research in Nuremberg.

Professor Scheuch believes that there will be a re-grouping in attitudes towards leisure time. More and more people will be seeking longer holidays and more and more people will be asking to retire at an earlier age.

The Federal Republic is a country with an active tourist industry. During 1966-1967 approximately 89 million people went on holiday. In the middle of the seventies, according to Professor Scheuch, there will be 130 million people travelling, a population movement that the world has never before seen. Professor Scheuch is of the view that the holiday mania has not yet reached its peak.

Holiday attitudes of people in this country have not yet stabilised, although most people here rush to take their holidays in the south. The style of holidays has changed, however, for people no longer stay in boarding houses but expect to stay in bungalows or hotels.

More and more people will in future try to obtain a second home for themselves. As it is, approximately seven per cent of people in the Federal Republic have a place in the country. In France 14 per cent of the population have a second retreat away from it all.

Professor Scheuch sees people in this country in a dilemma as regards leisure time. Priority is given to improving the 'quality' of the home, which usually means decorating and furnishing in a fairly costly manner. Enquiries concerning swimming pools and saunas have increased enormusly.

The main elements commanding people's ideas about leisure time can be summed up with television, a bottle of beer and slippers.

Professor Valentin, director of the institute for industrial and social medicine attached to the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg saw gloomy factors behind these attitudes. He said: "Modern man's sins are mainly committed during his leisure time."

One of the major medical problems of our time is over-eating. Professor Valentin said: "Portliness has become a status symbol." According to his statistics 30.4 per cent of all young men in this country are ten per cent overweight. Among young women 34 per cent are, and of these six per cent are more than 25 per cent overwieght, and an astonishing seventeen per cent of young women in this country are fifty per cent overweight.

The increase in the number of alcoholics in this country is terrifying. According to Professor Valentin there are an estimated 350,000 alcoholics in the country. The average statistics show that each citizen in this country drinks each year 190 litres of beer, four litres of spirits, 28 litres of wine and champagne.

Sex in this country is so much played upon that it is fast becoming a danger to health. Professor Valentin said: "The biologically reasonable limits for sexual indulgence have already been surpassed."

According to Professor Valentin further dangers are common in our society in the use of drugs and tablets.

Professor Valentin opposes the working man's ideal of having a four-day week. He maintains that working for ten hours at a stretch in many professions is too taxing. An extended weekend would then be of no use as a means of refreshing an over-tired person.

Professor Valentin commented: "The introduction of a four-day week would only be possible if the hours worked were reduced to 32."

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 June 1973

Numbered people

Inhabitants of the Federal Republic and West Berlin, including foreigners living here, will be given a code number in 1976, if the Bundestag approves a Bill to this effect that has now been submitted for its approval.

The central feature of this new registration law will be the introduction of a twelve-digit personal code number which will help rationalise public administration and make it easier for inhabitants to register with the authorities.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 31 May 1973)

More money spent on leisure-time pursuits

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Citizens in this country are spending ever greazer sums on their leisure-time, according to a survey conducted by the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

The survey showed there had been a considerable increase on money spent on leisure time activities since 1965, relative to income.

This is particularly true for holidays and periods away from home for relaxation. The survey showed that pensioners and employees in the middle income groups spent twice as much as in 1971 in 1965.

Statisticians calculated that expenditure on leisure goods (including holiday expenditure and money spent on the car for leisure use) in 1971 per household per month in a man and wife family receiving a pension or social assistance was 36 Marks (about six per cent of total expenditure in the private consumer sphere), in a four person blue-collar household with a middle level income it was 163 Marks (13 per cent) and in a four person household where the breadwinner was a white-collar worker or civil servant with a higher income 340 Marks (17 per cent).

Pensioners spent twenty per cent of their total finances on leisure pursuits or holiday goods. In blue-collar families with a middle or high income the percentage was 27 and 32 per cent.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1973)

Officials probe officials

Government officials are loath to make any decisions, they are servile to their seniors and arrogant with their juniors. They have a good easy time in their offices. These are the views that a very large number of people in this country have of civil servants.

These prejudices seem to have been confirmed in part if one gives credence to the work of two young officials from the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Eberhard Moths and Monika Wulf-Mathies, both trained sociologists, during 1970 and 1972 inundated the 356 officials in the Ministry of Economic Affairs with 70 confidential questions.

The results of their work have just been published with the title: "The citizen's most obedient servent – bureaucracy without incentives". They wrote: "During the past 25 years in the shadow of democratic development the system of administration has become more an autonomous instrument of the State than a servant of the citizens of the country."

It was the first time that heads of government departments have been "surveyed". In this case 'Hilfsreferenten'. Usually surveys are involved with officials lower down the scale.

The key position held by heads of department was spelled out succinctly by Ernst Wolf Mommsen, who is now the Krupp head, during his period as a State Secretary at the Defence and Economic Affairs Ministry. He claimed that it was extraordinarily difficult to go against the convictions of these officials.

Moths and Wulf-Mathies confirmed this. Why this is so they outlined at the end of their 100-page study. They wrote: "Those questioned were of the view that the weaknesses of the administrative system lay in the pyramid arrangement of staff, the regulations governing the activities of departmental heads, chef de bureau, the principles governing work output and control. A hierarchical system is more concerned with climbing up the career ladder that with acting creatively and producing innovations. There is no motivation for improved work output. Controls do not take into consideration an official's instrinsic worth."

And for these reasons officials reject controls that might by imposed by the Bundestag or through public planning. Those asked were of the view that neither the Bundestag nor the general public at large were sufficiently well informed to deal with the bureaucracy. This results in an increasing independance of official administration."

Individual officials felt themselves to be completely self-contained. The authors were of the view that in the Economic Affairs Ministry information only passed from above to those below. Furthermore decisions were not made between departmental heads of the same rank with due speed. Considerations of autonomy hindered matters.

But the fact that things are not totally averse to change is revealed by the fact that the survey was supported by the personnel department of the Economic Affairs Ministry.

Hans Lerchbacher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 June 1973)

Bonn's attractions surveyed

Hannoversche Allgemeine

When the name Bonn is mentioned in this country people do not so much think of the city as the politics produced there. This unequivocal view hides many qualities the city possesses that are not to be found in many other major cities of this country.

A survey has been carried out by the Bad Godesberg Institute for Applied Social Sciences evaluating the attractiveness of major cities in this country. Eighteen were selected ranging from 100,000 to two million inhabitants.

Bonn is attractive and interesting, but is also an uncomfortable city lacking personality, according to the survey, reflecting the view of many people in the country. This view was a view expressed mainly from hearsay experience as approximately eighty per cent of the people in this country have never been to Bonn.

Their view of the capital of the Federal Republic is based on scraps of information gathered from here and there and from third party evidence. Bonn is considered to be dynamic, ambitious, expansive and generous.

But those who have visited Bonn have a lot more to comment on than that it is pleasant, friendly, beautiful or a cosy place.

Bonn is considered by many country people to be a large city. This is not in its power to attract tourists. It is superior to most other cities of a similar size.

Bonn's main attraction is its beautiful surroundings and the considerable cultural events it has to offer. In no city included in the survey were such cultural activities of such importance available.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1973)

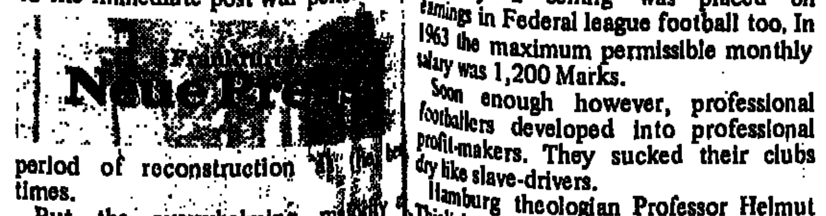
'Best years' surveyed

Most people in this country look back on the sixties as the golden period. Political nostalgia – a longing for the past – colours the judgments of only a few and mainly elder people in the twentieth century. They mourn the passing of "the good old days", according to a survey produced by the Infas Institute in Bonn-Bad Godesberg.

Eleven per cent of adult citizens in the Federal Republic look back yearningly to the Kaiser's times as being the best for Germans. A massive 42 per cent of those over 65 look back to the Kaiser's era up to 1914 as the best years of the twentieth century.

Only two per cent named the troubled Weimar period and the Nazis' "Thousand Year Reich" as the best years in their lives.

Ten per cent of those asked look back to the immediate post war period and the



period of reconstruction ... times.

But the overwhelming majority of citizens, a massive 69 per cent, were convinced that more recent times were the best years, the sixties and seventies.

A startling eight per cent of those questioned by Infas were of the view that since the beginning of the ... the beginning of the twentieth century there had been no good, golden times, or that they had no opinion one way or another.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 June 1973)

■ SPORT

Club mismanagement plunges soccer into the red

What is the market value of a professional football player? The rule of thumb would have it that an average player under contract is worth three times his annual income, or between four and five times his annual income if he has played for his country.

This rule applied even to so exceptional a player as Günter Netzer. As captain of Borussia Mönchengladbach and a member of the national team he earned 320,000 Marks a year.

Real Madrid, his new club, are paying a little over four times this sum for Netzer, albeit in bits and pieces: –

– 800,000 Marks in cash as transfer fee

– Real Madrid have undertaken to play a home and away fixture against Mönchengladbach, the proceeds of both being payable to Borussia. This arrangement will net Mönchengladbach an estimated half a million Marks.

By this token each metric pound of Gunter Netzer's flesh is worth some 20,000 Marks. Never before has so much money been paid for a German football player. Yet while players grow increasingly expensive the clubs themselves are nose-diving ever more steeply into the red.

Seven out of eighteen clubs in the Federal league, the highest nationwide division of professional football in this country, are in debt to the tune of more than one million Marks and generally on the brink of financial ruin. All seven have been granted only provisional permission by the Football Association to carry on into the 1973/74 season.

In all, ~~Federal league soccer in this~~ country is 22 million Marks in the red, and professional football as a whole, including regional league clubs, a staggering 41.5 million Marks.

There is a direct link between the high market value of player material and the indebtedness of clubs. The main reason why clubs run at a losss is frequently that players are paid so much (too much, sceptics would claim).

Well over half every club's revenue is spent on players. "Far too much money is spent on run-of-the-mill players," old-timer Uwe Seeler comments.

More often than not transfer fees and earnings bear no relation to gate money. Soccer pros in this country have much in common with Hollywood film stars of the fifties who insisted on record-breaking contracts even though cinemas were closing down left, right and centre.

Ten years ago, when Federal league football began in this country with fixtures at eight grounds, players had a genuine backlog to make good.

The maximum monthly earnings they were officially allowed to take home were 320 Marks, though all told more than twice this amount was usually paid.

Initially a ceiling was placed on earnings in Federal league football too. In 1963 the maximum permissible monthly salary was 1,200 Marks.

Soon enough however, professional footballers developed into professional profit-makers. They sucked their clubs dry like slave-drivers.

Hamburg theologian Professor Helmut Thielicke called on Uwe Seeler to be a paragon of honest practices for young people in this country, but initially and for the most part football heroes have contented themselves with asking for more.

They called for higher wages, sent transfer fees soaring and ended, in individual instances, in bribery and corruption.

Top-rank players such as Franz Beckenbauer and Gerd Müller of Bayern Munich earn more than 300,000 Marks a year from the game. Wolfgang Overath of Cologne earns an estimated annual quarter of a million Marks.

Federal league club players under contract nowadays as a rule sign up for between one and five seasons – for the most part two seasons, during which time notice to quit is not foreseen.

Should another club want to buy a player under contract it has to pay his existing club a transfer fee. Provided the two clubs reach agreement the player's new club must not only pay him a negotiated salary but also a lump sum as part of the transfer agreement.

The first substantial transfer sums date back to the sixties: –

– In 1960 Karl Heinz Schnellinger of Cologne transferred to Italy for a feé of 400,000 Marks.

He was followed, for 500,000 Marks, by Augsburg forward Helmut Haller, who has just ended his professional career and returned to this country to play for an amateur club in his old home town.

Horst Szymaniak of Wuppertal, Karlsruhe and Berlin also crossed the Alps for half a million Marks.

Reinhard Libuda of Schalke, who was implicated in bribery and corruption allegations, cocked a snook at the FA in Frankfurt and transferred to Strasbourg, France, for 450,000 Marks.

For the record, the world's record soccer transfer fee is twelve million Marks, recently paid for Italy's Gianni Riva to his old club Cagliari by Juventus Turin.

Transfer fees have steadily increased in this country over the years too. In 1971 Stuttgart paid 225,000 Marks for Köppel of Borussia. At the time this was considered an outrageous price.

Only two years later Bayern Munich offered 600,000 Marks for Jupp Kapellmann of Cologne. Just before the transfer was signed Kapellmann's market

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value was increased by the single-handed decision of one man, Helmut Schön.

Schön, the FA's chief coach, selected Kapellmann for the national team. After an hour and a half on the pitch the Cologne footballer was worth another 200,000 Marks. His club now wanted 800,000 Marks.

This can turn out to be a handicap for the player at times. A few weeks ago Eintracht Brunswick were relegated from the Federal league. Goalie Bernd Franke wanted to transfer to another club and stay in top-class football.

His prospects seemed good, but two caps for the national team boosted his market value from 250,000 to 450,000 Marks and this was too much for the clubs that would otherwise have been interested.

The highest transfer fee ever offered for a player from this country until this year was for Hamburg captain Uwe Seeler, who chose, however, to stay in this country and saw to it that he did not lose by his decision.

An Italian club offered 900,000 Marks for Seeler, but a new record has now been established by Günter Netzer. Netzer's rise to fame and fortune in professional football is unparalleled.

The son of a Mönchengladbach seedsman, he left school at sixteen, served his apprenticeship and played football. As the years went by the boy with the largest feet in professional football (metric size 46, corresponding to British and US sizes fourteen and fifteen) rose to be the star of Federal league football.

Once a month his hairdresser Rolf Grünling distributed locks of Netzer's hair to fans who queued for snippets.

Netzer has always been a loner and an extravagant figure. While his fellow-players sweated it out at training-camp he and his girlfriend Hannelore Girulat sunned themselves on Hawaii.

When the national team came a cropper in an international against Argentina Netzer sent them a postcard from Barbados. When he was fouled in a game against England he made such a song and dance that British sports reporters were scornful about his sob performance.

His last appearance for Borussia Mönchengladbach must have been to his liking. It was the Cup final between Borussia and Cologne on 24 June 1973. He had already signed up with Real Madrid and many fans looked on him as a turncoat.

Netzer's left boot was worth roughly one million Marks for Borussia Mönchengladbach, who thus qualified for the European Cup. This was surely a worthy parting shot and leaving present from Netzer to his old club.

His departure a year before the World Cup, to be held next summer in this country, assumed the proportions of a national disaster. "Stop the Sellout," a headline in *Bild-Zeitung* proclaimed.

The die was already cast, however. Borussia Mönchengladbach are one of the few clubs in Federal league football to have grasped the problem of management at this level.

Club manager and vice-president Helmut Grasshoff is an advocate of the businesslike ruling: "At 28 they've got to go." Günter Netzer is twenty-eight.

Club trainer Hans ("Hennes") Weisweiler, whose personal image and market value have increased proportionately with Borussia's successes, tried for a while to override this ruling.

Suddenly he came to realise that Borussia could win games without Netzer and he too toed the line, allowing his dislike of Netzer and his manoeuvres to gain the upper hand in what has always been a love-hate relationship between the two men.

Netzer's annual wage packet was to be pruned from 320,000 down to 250,000 Marks, the sum earned by long-distance runner Wimmer, who is now to take over from him as team captain.

Netzer felt unfair advantage was being taken of him and personally entered into negotiations with Real Madrid. It was he who clinched the deal and settled the record transfer fee.

His club jumped at the opportunity. His departure over the Pyrenees to Spain may mean 5,000 spectators fewer per game but Mönchengladbach are now out of the red and can afford to invest in new blood.

Few clubs other than Borussia have come to realise that with the advent of Federal league football a new era began, that professional football is now entertainment rather than pleasure and that hard-nosed management rather than club sentiment is called for.

These few certainly include league champions Bayern Munich. Its players owe their success in no small measure to the success of the club's management policies.

Club president Wilhelm Neudecker knows a great deal about money and is happy to remain fairly ignorant of the ins and outs of football.

Club manager Robert Schwan knows a great deal about managing people, a fair amount about money and very little about football.

Club trainer Udo Lattek does not worry about the financial aspects. He knows all there is to know about the game.

Then, of course, there are the club's talented youngsters whose names have become household words over the years: Sepp Maier, Gerd Müller, Franz Beckenbauer. Not to mention the talent that has been bought by transfer from elsewhere.

Despite support from local authorities and the business community most other Federal league clubs have seldom surfaced from the depths of chronic indebtedness.

Providing clubs maintain amateur sections they are acknowledged for tax purposes as charitable foundations and generally entitled to reclaim half the 11 per cent value added tax included in their takings.

In more than half the country's Federal states football clubs are excused the ten per cent entertainments tax. As a rule the local authority does not insist on rent for use of the stadium, and turnover tax is only payable in the event of the club making a profit.

Meidericher Spielvereinigung was badly in debt. The city of Duisburg wrote off 300,000 Marks in back tax and postponed payments for use of the stadium. In return the club renamed itself MSV Duisburg.

Industrialists large and small have always been generous supporters of professional football. Willi Maurer, a detergent manufacturer, ("I couldn't tell you how many million I am worth at the moment") made a vain attempt to buy back Günter Netzer and keep the golden boy in this country.

Newspaper proprietor Axel Cäsar Springer twice made a donation of 300,000 Marks to Hertha, the Berlin club, but this source of income has dried up now that Hertha is involved in bribery and corruption allegations.

Instead Hertha, like many other clubs, is trying to keep its head above water by selling club property as building-land. Last but not least, Eintracht Brunswick sold the front of the club jerseys as advertising space to Jägermeister, a local liqueur manufacturer, at 500,000 Marks for an exclusive five-year contract.

Subsidies, whether public or private, can only alleviate the situation and not bring about a permanent improvement. Too many clubs are still run amateurishly.

Club officials are elected in an honorary capacity at AGMs attended by ten per cent of members at the most. As club employees the players are not allowed to vote. And the managements invest in new blood for prestige and other reasons – any reason at all, in fact, but sound business considerations.

Publisher Alfred Strothe, erstwhile long-serving president of Hanover 96, freely admits that "I could never afford to take the risks in business that I took with the club."

Federal league football is not even capable of handling game-rigging allegations economically. According to *Bild-Zeitung* clarification of the bribery and corruption scandal cost the FA three times the amount known to have changed hands in return for result-rigging – 1.1 million Marks.

Football seems determined to plunge headlong into disaster. The upshot of mismanagement is that the average gate per game has dropped a third from 25,000 to 16,400 in a decade.

In absolute terms the number of fans lining stands and terraces in the course of a season have dropped from six to five million. Meanwhile club expenditure has increased by twenty per cent in the past two years alone.

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